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THE

HISTORY

CIVIL AND COMMERCIAL,

OF THE

BRITISH COLONIES

IN THE

WEST INDIES.

To which is added,

AN HISTORICAL SURVEY

OF THE

FRENCH COLONY

IN THE

ISLAND OF ST. DOMINGO.

ABRIDGED FROM

THE HISTORY WRITTEN

BY BRYAN EDWARDS. ESQ.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is unneceſſary to offer any apology for the abridgment of a performance ſo intereſting in its nature as the original of the following work. The reader of modern hiſtory muſt undoubtedly regard the Weſt Indian Iſlands, their diſcovery, their productions, and their progreſs in improvement, as no inconſiderable department of his inquiries; and to the political economiſt, it is of importance to learn the nature and extent of our commerce with ſo conſpicuous a part of the Britiſh dominions. It muſt be confeſſed, that in a work ſo limited as the preſent, a very minute ſtudent of theſe ſubjects may not poſſibly find every article of information; but to the bulk of readers, it is apprehended, the utility of the work, as a relation of facts and circumſtances, will be admitted. It has been the abridger's wiſh to omit no part of the narration that could be received; ſo that, ſatisfied with being perſpicuous, he has not aimed at elegance of expreſſion, a quality difficult to unite with a cloſe compreſſion of facts.

The work of Mr. Edwards is highly valuable for the intereſting and important ſtate papers which it

contains, and which the writer's peculiar ſituation ſo well enabled him to obtain. In the illuſtration and ſupport of facts that are liable to contradiction, papers of this nature are eminently uſeful; they have been therefore admitted to as great an extent as the limits of an abridgment would allow, in order to recompenſe the reader in ſome degree for the amuſing appendixes of the original. The ſame obſervation applies to the liſts of ſhipping, &c. under the article of Commerce; and the ſame care has been taken to inſert them, as far as poſſible, unmutilated.

The remarks and opinions of the original author have not been at all times taken into the abridgment; but where they are introduced, the reader is troubled with no counter remarks from the abridger. In taking notice of one opinion of Mr. Edwards, a paſſage from a well known author is ſubjoined. This may be departing from the ſtrict path of abbreviation; but in the circumſtances where it is introduced, it was thought entirely neceſſary; and as the author quoted writes upon the ſame ſubject, the digreſſion is leſs to be remarked.

THE WEST INDIES
from the latest Authoreties

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HISTORY of the WEST INDIES

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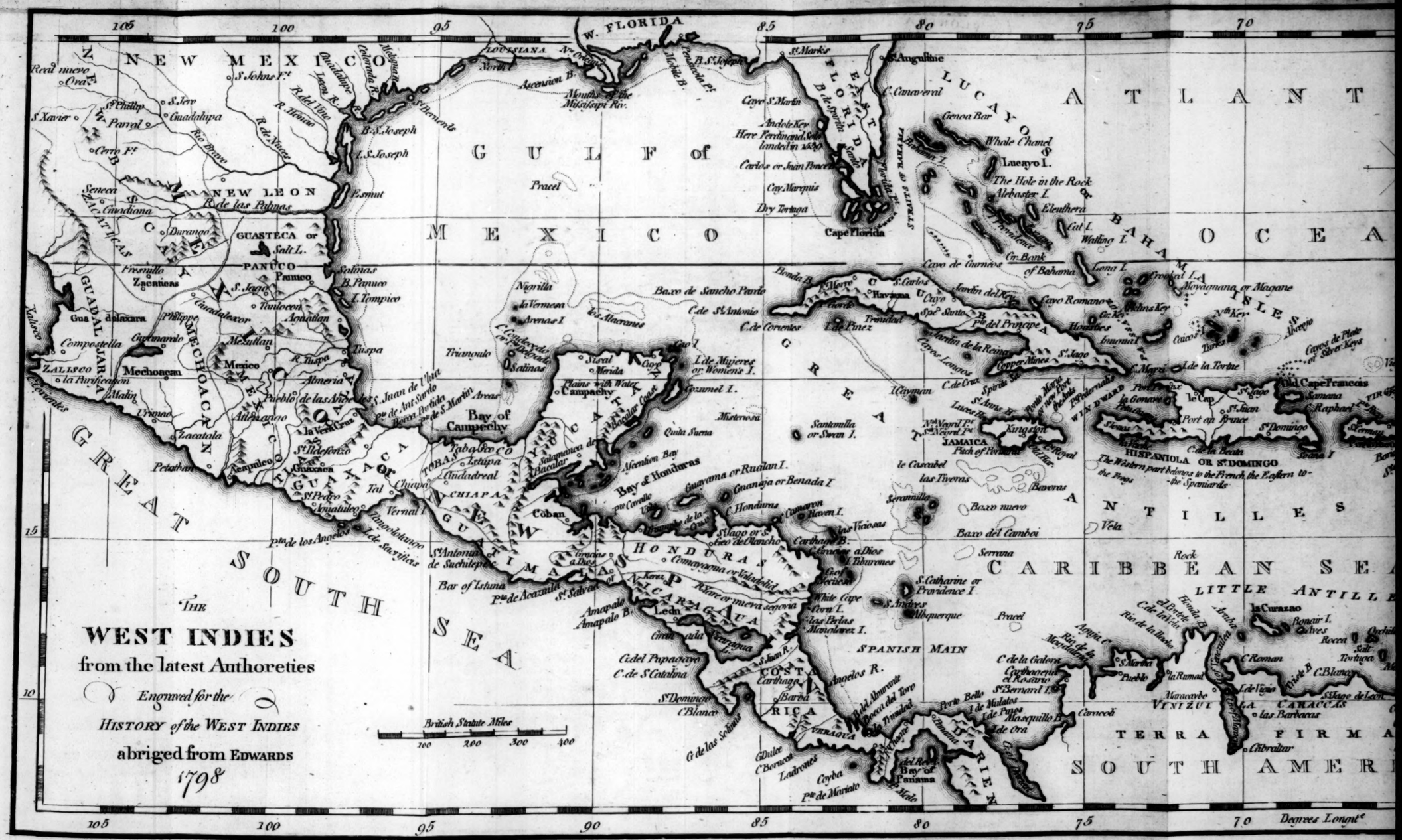
1798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NEW MEXICO
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NEW LEON
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Arenas I.
Nigrilla
la Vermeza
Baxo de Sancho Pardo
C de St Antonio
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Carlos or Juan Ponce
Cay Marquis
Dry Tortuga
Florida Keys
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Cayo Lemos
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Cayo
Spe Santo
Bahama I.
Lucayo I.
Whale Chanel
The Hole in the Rock
Alabaster I.
Eleuthera
Cat I.
Watling I.
Cr. Bank
Long I.
Crooked I.
Mayaguana or Magane
Inaguas
Turks I.
Caicos
Capres de Plate or Silver Keys
Old Cape Francois
Cape Samana
Port au Prince
St Domingo
HISPANIOLA OR ST. DOMINGO
Cape la Beata
Jamaica
Kingston
Port Royal
Pitch of Portland
Negril Pt
Morant Pt
Santanilla or Swan I.
Misteriosa
Quita Suena
Cayman
Caymanas
Vela
Serranilla
Baxo nuevo
Baxo del Camboi
Serrana
Rock
CARIBBEAN SEA
LITTLE ANTILLES
la Curazao
Bonair I.
Orchilla
Aruba
Tortuga
Margarita
Cubagua
Cumana
Barcelona
Raphael
Maracaibo
Venizuela
LA GUAIRA
CARACAS
las Barbacas
Gibraltar
TERRA FIRMA
SOUTH AMERICA
Gulf of Darien
Bay of Panama
Bay of Honduras
Guanaja or Benada I
Guayama or Ruatan I.
Cape Honduras
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Tiburones
Cape Catharine or Providence I
Albequerque
Pinos I.
Cape Corrientes
Cape Antonio
Cape Francis
Cape Maize
Cape Negril
Cape Morant
Cape Nicholas
Cape Tiburon
Cape Dame Marie
Cape Beata
Cape Engano
Cape Samana
Cape Raphael
Cape Cabron
Cape Roman
Cape Blanco
Cape Gallinas
Cape de la Vela
Cape de la Aguja
Cape Codera
Cape Blanco
Cape Tres Puntas
Cape Corrientes
Cape Mala
Cape Blanco
Cape Gracias a Dios
Cape Honduras
Cape Tiburones
Cape Catharine or Providence I

THE WEST INDIES

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HISTORY of the WEST INDIES

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1798

British Statute Miles

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Degrees Longit^e West of London

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NEW MEXICO

W. FLORIDA

LOUISIANA

GULF of MEXICO

FLORIDA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

BAHAMA ISLES

LUCAYOS

GREAT SOUTH SEA

CARIBBEAN SEA

LITTLE ANTILLES

WINDWARD ISLES

SPANISH MAIN

HONDURAS

NICARAGUA

COSTA RICA

TERRA FIRMA

SOUTH AMERICA

HISPANIOLA OR ST. DOMINGO

JAMAICA

NEW LEON

GUASTECA or Salt L.

PANUCO

MECHOACAN

GUADALAJARA

ZALISCO

GUATIMALA

VERAGUA

VENIZUL

CARACCAS

COMANA

Cape Florida

Tropic of Cancer

The Western part belongs to the French, the Eastern to the Spaniards

70
65
60
30
25
20
15
10
L A N T I C
O C E A N
Tropic of Cancer
Moyaguana or Magane
Nth Key
Caicos
Turks
Abreojo
Cayos de Plato or Silver Keys
Vigia
I. de la Tortue
Old Cape Francois
Samana
C. Raphael
St. Jago
le Cap
St. Juan
Port au Prince
St. Domingo
Soana I.
Anegada
Angillo
Martin
Barbuda
Antigua
Redondo
Monser
Guadalupe I.
Basse Terre
Mari Galanti
Dominica
Aves I.
Martinico I.
Trinity
St. Lucia
St. Vincent I.
Barbados
Bird I.
Niacan
I. Granada
Tobago
Testigos
Gr. Bank
C. Galera
Rock
E A N S E A
LITTLE ANTILLES
la Curazao
Bonair I.
Aves
Rocca
Orchilla
Salt
Tortuga
Blanco
Margarita
C. Roman
C. Blanco
Triste B.
I. de Vigia
S. Jago de Leon
Comana
COMANA
LA CARACCAS
las Barbacas
Gibraltar
Maracaybo
NIZUI
RA FIRMA
TH AMERICA
CARIBEE ISLES
WINDWARD
70 Degrees Longit.e 65 West of London 60

HISTORY

OF THE

WEST INDIES.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

Geographical Arrangement—Name—Climate—Sea Breeze and Land Wind—Animals and Vegetables—Sublimity of the Mountains, &c. &c.

THE ever-memorable Columbus was induced to ſet ſail in queſt of a new continent, from the received opinion of his time, that a nearer paſſage might be explored to the Eaſt Indies, by a voyage to the weſtward. The diſcovery of the Pacific Ocean demonſtrated this miſtake; but ſtill thoſe iſlands which Columbus had viſited, retained the

appellation of the Weſtern Indies, in contradiſtinction to the Indies of the Eaſt.

Under this name are comprehended that large group of iſlands which extend in a curve from the Florida ſhore, on the north peninſula of America, to the Gulf of Maracaybo, on the ſouthern. Spaniſh navigators have divided them into Windward and Leeward (*Bortavento* and *Sotavento*); and, in ſtrict language, the term Windward applies to the Caribbean Iſles; and Leeward, to the four larger ones, Cuba, Jamaica, Hiſpaniola, and Porto Rico: But, in Engliſh geography, they are divided according to the courſe of the trade-wind; the Windward iſlands terminating with Martinico, and the Leeward ſtretching from Martinico to Porto Rico.

As all the Weſt India iſlands lie beneath the tropic of Cancer, there is little variety of temperature, except ſuch as ariſes from the elevation of land.

The vernal ſeaſon in theſe parts may be ſaid to commence with May. The parched ſavannahs now change their aſpect, from a withered brown, to a freſh and delightful green. Gentle ſouthern ſhowers preſently ſet in, which, falling about noon, occaſion a bright and rapid vegetation. At this period, the medium height of the thermometer is 75°.

After theſe vernal ſhowers have continued for about a fortnight, the ſeaſon advances to maturity, and the tropical ſummer burns in its full glory.

During ſome hours in the morning, when the land breeze has not yet ſprung up, the blaze of the ſun is fierce and intolerable; but as ſoon as this agreeable wind ariſes, the extreme warmth is abated, and the climate becomes even pleaſant in the ſhade. The thermometer now ſtands generally 75° at ſunriſe, and 85° at noon.

But whatever inconvenience the inhabitants of theſe iſlands may ſuſtain from diurnal heat, it is amply recompenſed by the beauty and ſerenity of their nights. The moon riſes large and refulgent in the cloudleſs horizon: The Milky Way and the planet Venus glow with a brightneſs unknown in our heavens: The landſcape is fair and beautiful, and the air cool and delicious.

About the middle of Auguſt the thermometer riſes to an unwonted height. The refreſhing breeze dies away, and the large red clouds that ſkirt the ſouthern horizon betoken the approach of rains. The clouds roll horizontally towards the mountains: The thunder reverberates from peak to peak, and the whole ſcene becomes impreſſive and ſublime. It is at this period that hurricanes, thoſe irreſiſtible viſitations of Divine vengeance, are ſo frequently felt.

In November or December the north wind commences. It is at firſt attended with heavy ſhowers of hail, till at laſt the atmoſphere brightens, and the weather, till March, may be called winter. It is a winter, however, remote from the

horror of northern ſeverity; cool, wholeſome, and delicious.

This deſcription of climate muſt not be held as minutely applicable to all the Weſt India iſlands. Size, cultivation, a mountainous ſurface, and other unnoticed circumſtances, may occaſion a diverſity of climate throughout the whole.

Prejudiced and ignorant writers have deſcribed the Weſt India iſlands, when firſt diſcovered by Spaniſh navigators, to have been noxious and impenetrable deſerts. To be convinced that this aſſertion is falſe, we need only conſult the expreſſions of Columbus himſelf, when he informs his ſovereign Ferdinand of his newly acquired dominions. "There is a river (he obſerves) which diſ-
"charges itſelf into the harbour that I have nam-
"ed Porto Santo, of ſufficient depth to be navi-
"gable. I had the curioſity to ſound it, and
"found eight fathom. Yet the water is ſo limpid,
"that I can eaſily diſcern the ſand at the bottom.
"The banks of this river are embelliſhed with
"lofty palm-trees, whoſe ſhade gives a delicious
"freſhneſs to the air; and the birds and the
"flowers are uncommon and beautiful. I was ſo
"delighted with the ſcene, that I had almoſt come
"to the reſolution of ſtaying here the remainder
"of my days; for believe me, Sire, theſe coun-
"tries far ſurpaſs all the reſt of the world in plea-
"ſure and conveniency; and I have frequently
"obſerved to my people, that, with all my endea-

" vours to convey to your Majeſty an adequate " idea of the charming objects which continually " preſent themſelves to our view, the deſcription " will fall greatly ſhort of the reality."

Such is the admiration profeſſed by a man whoſe veracity has never been ſuſpected. If at any time theſe regions of beauty and fertility relapſed into barrenneſs or noxious vegetation, it muſt be attributed alone to the extirpation of their original cultivators, by the ſanguinary emigrants of Spain.

The truth is, that, in their original ſtate, theſe iſlands were highly improved by cultivation. Their ſavannahs or plains yielded abundance of Turkey wheat, and their woods, being cleared below, afforded a conſtant and agreeable ſhade, excluding the blaze of the ſun, but admitting the circulation of the air.

Such were theſe blooming orchards and woods of perennial verdure, of a growth unknown to the frigid clime and leſs vigorous ſoil of Europe. What European foreſt ever gave birth to a ſtem like the ceiba *, which, hollowed into a veſſel, has been known to carry an hundred perſons; or the ſtill more gigantic fig-tree, the ſovereign of the vegetable creation—itſelf a foreſt.

But the majeſtic ſcenery of the groves is heightened by the forms which inhabit them. The ſovereign Diſpoſer of created beings ſeems to have been ſingularly partial to theſe iſlands, in leaving

* Wild cotton tree.

them deſtitute of thoſe noxious ſerpentine tribes, which infeſt other regions of the ſame latitude. The alligator is indeed ſeen on their banks; but I cannot be perſuaded by all that has been ſaid of the fierce nature of this animal, but that he is ſhy, and even cowardly: at all times diſpoſed to relinquiſh the haunts of men. As to their lizards, they are ſportive and harmleſs.

Anciently their woods were frequented by a ſmaller ſpecies of the monkey race, a pleaſant and innocent little ſporter. But theſe, like the beautiful flamingo, a large and elegant bird, arrayed in the brighteſt ſcarlet, have been nearly extirpated. Still, however, the parrot and the parroquet enliven their woods. But the boaſt of theſe groves is the humming bird; whoſe minute form and plumage of glowing, rich, and diverſified luſtre, render it the moſt beautiful and ſurpriſing of the feathered race.

It is true, the beauty of tropical birds is all that they have to recommend them; yet their woods are not deſtitute of harmony. The note of the mock-bird is highly pleaſing; while the hum of myriads of buſy inſects, and the plaintive melody of ſtock doves, form a concert, which, if it cannot awaken the fancy, may at leaſt ſooth the affections, and give harmony to repoſe.

But leaving theſe minuter objects, the mind is fixed in deeper contemplation in looking to the enormous hills of theſe regions, which riſe above the ſtorms, and repoſe in eternal ſnow. To the

ſpectator looking down from theſe heights, the whole ſcene appears like enchantment. While all is calm and ſerene in the higher regions, the clouds are ſeen below ſweeping along the ſides of the mountains in vaſt bodies, till, growing more ponderous by accumulation, they fall at length in torrents of water on the plains. The ſound of the tempeſt is diſtinctly heard by the ſpectator above; the diſtant lightning is ſeen to irradiate the gloom; while the thunder, reverberated in a thouſand echoes, rolls far beneath his feet.

CHAPTER II.

Of the Caraibes, or ancient Inhabitants of the Windward Iſlands—Origin—Character—Manners—Perſons, and Domeſtic Habits—Education—Arts and Manufactures—Religion—Concluſions on the whole.

HAVING thus delineated the climate and ſeaſons, and attempted to impreſs the reader with ſome faint idea of the beauty and magnificence with which the hand of nature hath arrayed theſe iſlands, I ſhall next proceed to inquire after thoſe inhabitants to whoſe ſupport and conveniency they were chiefly found ſubſervient when they firſt came to the knowledge of Europe.

Hiſpaniola was the firſt iſland which had the honour of receiving Columbus, after a voyage the moſt wonderful and important that is recorded in hiſtory. He found that the poſſeſſors of this and the three other iſlands, which by Spaniſh navigators were denominated the Leeward, were a ſimple, hoſpitable, and happy people; but he was informed that there lay to the eaſtward a barbarous and warlike nation called Caribbees or Caraibes, a race of cannibals, who frequently made terrible incurſions on their more peaceable neighbours, and carried havock and devaſtation wherever they conquered. Columbus diſcovered, in his ſecond voy-

age, that theſe ferocious cannibals were inhabitants of the Windward Iſles.

Hiſtorians have laboured to diſcover by what extraordinary cauſes two nations, ſo remote in character, ſhould have lived in ſuch propinquity of ſituation. Rochefort, an hiſtoriographer of this country, aſſigns many plauſible reaſons for ſuppoſing, that the natives of the larger iſlands were remnants of the aborigines of the Weſt Indies; and that the fiercer Caraibes having emigrated in a ſwarm from the Indians of Apalachia, had extirpated all the original natives, except thoſe whom the ſize of their kingdoms and number of inhabitants had defended from entire devaſtation.

But Martyr, a ſtill more ſagacious hiſtorian, has produced powerful arguments againſt the above ſuppoſition. It would be too tedious, however, to enter minutely into this diſpute. Certain it is, that the different languages, and diſſimilar traits of the two nations, exclude all ſuppoſition of their origin being common; but from what nations they emigrated, or from whence they drew their lineage, is difficult to determine, and unworthy of inveſtigation.

Leaving this inquiry, let us proceed to ſelect ſuch uncontroverted facts as may communicate an idea of their manners and character. In performing this taſk, circumſcribed as we are for materials, very important concluſions may be drawn in the ſtudy of human nature.

The courage or the cowardice of an individual

is always a prominent feature in his character, and nations are not leſs diſtinguiſhed than individuals by the extent and nature of theſe qualities.

The Caraibes were courageous; but their courage was that of barbarians, bloated with revenge and diſgraced by cruelty. Inured to arms from their youth, and taught to prize no bleſſing ſo highly as military fame; incapable, from habits of activity, to cultivate at home the blandiſhments of tranquillity, or the comfortable arts of peace; they regarded war as the main object of their exiſtence, and peace as a mere pauſe from hoſtilities, to recruit them for new revenge.

Their ardour in battle roſe to inſatiable fury; for they devoured without remorſe the bodies of ſuch enemies as they had killed or taken priſoners in war.

This fact, ſo diſagreeable in relation (though eſtabliſhed), was at one period ſtrenuouſly denied by thoſe European philoſophers, who, zealous in maintaining the dignity of our nature, impeached the veracity of all thoſe who aſſerted the diſcovery of cannibals. But the diſcoveries which recent voyagers have made leave us now no room to diſtruſt the exiſtence of ſuch degraded beings. As to the Caraibes, the charge is completely ſubſtantiated; for Columbus relates, that, having landed at Guadaloup, he beheld in ſeveral cottages the heads and limbs of human bodies, recently ſeparated, and evidently kept for occaſional repaſts!

Thus far, it muſt be confeſſed, the diſpoſitions

of the Caraibes leaves no very pleaſing impreſſion on our minds. In contemplating this circumſtance in their manners, we can hardly conſider them as human beings, but as monſters whom it was lawful to extirpate from exiſtence. But the whole portrait of their character does not correſpond to this diſagreeable trait: We behold in the Caraibe, warm friendſhip, energetic and dignified independence of mind, and ſome ſhare of the ſocial paſſions.

It is allowed, that with regard to the people of Europe, whenever any of them had acquired their confidence, it was given without reſerve. Their friendſhip was as warm as their enmity was implacable. The Caraibes of Guiana ſtill fondly cheriſh the tradition of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preſerve the Engliſh colours which he left them at parting.

Of the loftineſs of their ſentiments, and their abhorrence of ſlavery, a writer, no way partial to them, gives the following illuſtration: "There is "not a nation on earth (ſays Labat) more jealous "of their independence than the Caraibes; and "when at any time they behold the deference "which an European obſerves to his ſuperiors, "they deſpiſe us as abject ſlaves who can be ſo "baſe as to crouch before an equal."

Happy had it been that ſuch conſciouſneſs of dignity had been adorned with mildneſs or humanity; but their prevailing paſſion for war repreſſed thoſe inſtincts of nature, which the voluptuouſneſs of climate had otherwiſe produced. The

paſſion of love was not ſtrongly felt: They ſeemed, from the nature of their decorations, rather deſirous of impreſſing terror, than being objects of admiration; and, indeed, the hideous ſcars which disfigured their faces, their muſcular and ſtout bodies, and the quick wild roll of their eyes, that ſeemed an emanation from their martial ſpirit, rendered their whole appearance ſtriking and terrible. As ſoon as a Caraibe child was born, he was ſprinkled with his father's blood. The ceremony was painful, in the extreme, to the father; but he ſubmitted, from a belief that the hardineſs he diſplayed on ſuch occaſions would be ingrafted upon the ſpirit of his infant ſon.

Before the youth himſelf could be admitted to the honours of manhood, the moſt painful experiments were made upon his fortitude. Like the Spartan youth, he was tortured by the hands of his neareſt relation, and like him, he eſtabliſhed his reputation upon contempt of pain. When his patience had outbraved their perſecution, "Now he "is a man like ourſelves" (they would ſay); and thenceforward admitted him to their battles and ſociety.

The ſame admired fortitude, which uplifted the boy to the honours of manhood, was alſo made the teſt of ſuperiority, when the ambitious became candidates for principality. The warrior was put to the moſt excruciating torture, before he could be deemed capable of acting as chief. The ambitious Caraibe who arrived to this dignity muſt have pur-

chaſed his honours at a dear price. From a people ſo fiercely independent, no ſpontaneous obedience could be expected. The chief had to conſole himſelf with the glory of his title, with the liberty he poſſeſſed of appropriating female captives to himſelf, and with the gifts he received, the moſt beautiful daughters of his countrymen.

From this laſt tribute, perhaps, the practice of polygamy aroſe. But, though beſtowed as the reward of valour, the females were treated rather as ſlaves than domeſtics. They ſuſtained every ſpecies of degrading labour, were treated without humanity or reſpect, and denied the privilege of eating in ſociety with men. Such is the fate of all women among ſavages. The progreſs of a people in every thing valuable and humane is marked by the dignity and happineſs of the female ſex.

Beſides the feather that was inſerted in the perforated cartilage of his noſe, and the teeth of his devoured enemies that were ſtrung round his legs and arms, the Caraibe warrior could not be ſaid to have any ornament or dreſs; nor indeed could clothing be neceſſary in a climate where the chillneſs of winter was never felt. A buſkin, or half boot, wove of cotton, was worn by the women after the age of puberty; but to this diſtinction no captive female could aſpire.

Their long black hair conſtituted the chief ornament of both ſexes; an ornament alſo denied to captives. Like all other Americans, they eradicated the beard in its firſt growth; a circumſtance

which led ſome to believe that Americans are naturally beardleſs; but ocular demonſtration has ſhown the miſtake.

The moſt remarkable circumſtance about their perſons was altering the configuration of the head, which being ſqueezed at birth between two boards, applied before and behind, made the fore and hinder head reſemble two ſides of a ſquare. The miſerable remnant of the natives in the Iſland of St. Vincent ſtill retain this cuſtom. Their villages reſembled an European encampment, their cabins being made of poles drawn to a top, and covered with the leaves of palm-tree. In the middle of each village ſtood a large hall, where they convened, and eat in common. Theſe halls were alſo the theatres of exerciſe, where their youth were trained to hardihood by athletic games, and fired to emulation by the ſpeeches of their orators.

Their arts and manufactures, though few, diſplayed a degree of ingenuity not to be expected from a people ſo little removed from a ſtate of mere animal nature. Columbus obſerved an abundance of ſubſtantial cotton cloth in all the iſlands which he viſited; and the natives poſſeſſed the art of ſtaining it with various colours, though the Caraibes delighted chiefly in red. Of this cloth they made hammocks, or hanging beds, ſuch as are now uſed at ſea; for Europe has not only copied the pattern, but preſerved the name. They poſſeſſed likewiſe the art of making veſſels for domeſtic purpoſes, which they baked in kilns like the potters of Eu-

rope. From the ruins of theſe, lately dug up in Barbadoes, we learn that they far ſurpaſs thoſe made by the Negroes, in thinneſs, ſmoothneſs, and beauty. Their baſkets, compoſed of palmetto leaves, were ſingularly elegant; and we are told that their bows, arrows, and other weapons, diſplayed a neatneſs and poliſh which a ſkilful European artiſt would have found it difficult to have excelled, even with his own tools.

We are not accurately informed as to the nature and extent of their agriculture. Among ſuch a rude people, the right of private property could not be definite. We find, accordingly, that there was a community of labour, and a community of goods in every village. All partook of the labour of tilling and ſowing; and each family had its ſhare from the public granary. Except the circumſtance of their eating human fleſh, their food ſeems in all reſpects to have been the ſame with that of the natives of the larger iſlands. But, although exceſſively voracious, they rejected ſome of the beſt bounties of nature. They never taſted the pecary, or Mexican hog; the manati, or ſea-cow; nor the turtle. Some have aſcribed this abhorrence of theſe delicious rarities to the influence of religious motives; and fanciful hiſtorians have not forgot that the Jews had a ſimilar diſlike to ſimilar animals.

In tracing out their religious cuſtoms, we find a few the offspring of genuine nature; others, ſuperſtitious and unaccountable. On the birth of a

child, the father faſted for a whole day, a practice which no rational motives could influence. At the death of a father, their behaviour was decent and pious; they bewailed his loſs with unaffected ſorrow, then turning from the place of his abode, erected it in a different place.

In their religious belief there ſeems to have been a mixture of theiſm and idolatry; but their devotion was at all times rather the reſult of fear than of gratitude. Their ideas of a Supreme Being were groſs and indiſtinct; and their prayers, which they offered up to him, through the medium of inferior deities, were not to implore his protection, but merely to deprecate the terrors of his vengeance. Theſe inferior deities were, like the gods of the Romans, divided into ſuperior and ſubordinate beings, national and domeſtic protectors; and what renders the ſimilarity between the Roman and Caraibbee worſhip complete, was their belief that every individual had his own peculiar deity, correſponding to the genius of the ancient mythology.

But beſides their benevolent deities, they paid adoration to other ſpirits, in rites of a darker ſuperſtition. To avert the wrath of theſe demons, their magicians offered up their ſacrifices and their prayers in conſecrated places. On theſe occaſions, the worſhipper wounded himſelf with horrible gaſhes, conceiving, perhaps, that the fierce ſpirit of the demon was delighted with the groans of miſery, and appeaſed by the plentiful flow of human blood.

Such are the moſt ſtriking outlines in the character of the ſavage Caraibe. The picture is an aſſemblage of hard and uncouth features, whoſe expreſſion, if not pleaſing, is yet impreſſive, from their maſculine boldneſs. Let ſuch as are ſtruck with the barbarity of theſe habits and manners beware of aſcribing them to the genuine dictates of nature. Such ferocious ſavageneſs is not a ſtate congenial to man. Had not the bias of humanity been in ſtrong contradiction to ſuch manners, it would not have required ſuch unremitting diſcipline to ſteel the heart of the riſing Caraibe againſt every feeling of ſympathy and remorſe. Compaſſion and kindneſs conſtitute the chief ornament and happineſs of our life; and to the honour of humanity, they are the earlieſt propenſities of our nature.

CHAPTER III.

Of the Natives of Hiſpaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico—Their Numbers—Perſons—Genius and Diſpoſitions—Government and Religion—Miſcellaneous Obſervations reſpecting their Arts and Agriculture—Cruelty of the Spaniards.

I AM now to give an account of a mild and comparatively cultivated people, the ancient natives of Hiſpaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico; for there is no doubt that the inhabitants of all thoſe iſlands were of one common origin,—ſpeaking the ſame language, poſſeſſing the ſame inſtitutions, and in the practice of ſimilar ſuperſtitions. Columbus himſelf treats them as ſuch; and the teſtimony of cotemporary hiſtorians confirms his opinion.

By the formerly-mentioned natives of the Windward Iſlands, theſe iſlanders were conſidered as deſcended from a colony of Arrowauks, a people of Guiana; and there is no room to doubt the ſuppoſition of the Caraibes on this occaſion. Their opinion is ſupported by Raleigh, and others, who viſited Guiana and Trinidad two centuries ago.

Hiſtorians diſagree as to the number of inhabitants found by Columbus on his firſt viſiting theſe iſlands. L. Caſas computes the whole amount at ſix millions; but, from the accounts of other hiſtorians equally accurate, I am inclined to eſtimate the whole number at three, rather than ſix mil-

lions. Indeed, ſuch are the accounts of the carnage made among thoſe poor people by the Spaniards, that we are willing to hope their original numbers have been exaggerated by the followers of Columbus, from a fond propenſity to magnify the importance of their diſcovery.

The children of both ſexes, amongſt this ſimple people, went entirely uncovered; and the only covering for man and woman was a piece of cotton cloth, tied around the waiſt, and, with the women, falling down to the knees. In their ſhapes, they were elegant and well proportioned, and taller than the Caraibes, though by no means ſo muſcular. Like the Caraibes, they altered the configuration of the head; but their method was different; for the forehead was depreſſed, ſo as to give an unnatural thickneſs to the hinder part. The Spaniards, in relating this fact, give us an inſtance, at the ſame time, by what humane experiments they diſcovered it. Herrara relates, that a Spaniſh broad-ſword could not cleave the ſkull at one blow, but would frequently break ſhort of it. Their hair was uniformly black, without any tendency to curl; their features were hard and unſightly; the face broad, and the noſe flat; but, altogether, there was ſomething in their countenances expreſſive of a frank and gentle diſpoſition.

Modern philoſophers, in delineating their character, have groſsly miſrepreſented them, and, indeed, combined ſuch inconſiſtent qualities as could not mingle in the ſame temper. They have been

accuſed of cowardice, indolence, and inſenſibility; feebleneſs of mind, as well as of conſtitution.

Their military ſpirit was unqueſtionably far inferior to the ſavage enthuſiaſm of the Caraibbee warrior; but coldneſs to ſenſual pleaſures was no part of their character. The truth is, that love with this happy race was not a tranſient or youthful paſſion; it was the ſource of all their joys, and the great object of their lives. A thirſt for revenge never gave aſperity to their tempers, and climate heightened the ſenſibility of their paſſions. That a people, poſſeſſing the means of luxury, without the neceſſity of toil, ſhould be addicted to luxury, is a circumſtance no way ſurpriſing. The want of labour might in ſome degree enervate their bodies; and this concluſion may be admitted, without degrading their natures, or pronouncing the climate (as ſome have ventured to do) to be incompatible with bodily vigour.

Their limbs, however, were pliant and active; they delighted and excelled in the exerciſe of dancing; and to that amuſement they devoted the cool hours of night. "It was their cuſtom (ſays "Herrara) to dance from evening to the dawn; "and although fifty thouſand men and women "were frequently aſſembled together on theſe oc- "caſions, they ſeemed actuated by one common "impulſe, keeping time by reſponſive motions "with their hands and their feet, with an exact- "neſs truly wonderful."

Another diverſion was prevalent among them,

called the *bato;* which, by the accounts given of it, ſeems to have reſembled the Engliſh game of cricket. The players were divided into two parties, who alternately changed places; while an elaſtic ball, thrown dexterouſly backwards and forwards, was received on the head, the elbow, or the foot, and repelled with aſtoniſhing and inimitable force. Such exertions belong not to a people incurably enervated and ſlothful.

European writers, not ſatisfied with depreciating their perſonal accompliſhments, have likewiſe pronounced their natural genius inferior to our own. Such philoſophers ought to have recollected, that their ſituation alone, without recurring to other reaſons, ſufficiently accounts for the paucity of their ideas. Energy of mind originates not in the nature, but in the circumſtances of an enlightened European. He is intellectual and accompliſhed, not from intuitive knowledge, but from that cultivation of his powers which his neceſſities or ambition may excite.

But whatever theſe Indians wanted in energy, was amply made up in the ſweetneſs of their diſpoſitions; ſince, from the evidence of all writers, the candid as well as the bigotted, they are repreſented to have been the moſt gentle and benevolent of the human race.

Among other inſtances of their benevolence, the following is not the leaſt remarkable. Soon after Columbus's firſt arrival at Hiſpaniola, one of his ſhips was wrecked on the coaſt. The natives,

ſcorning to reap advantage from his diſtreſs, put to ſea with eagerneſs to his relief. A thouſand canoes were in motion; not a life was loſt; and of the goods ſaved from the wreck, not an article was loſt or embezzled. Guacanahari, the cacique, waited next day on Columbus; and perceiving that the ſhip itſelf, and ſome of the cargo, notwithſtanding all exertions, was irrecoverably loſt, condoled with Columbus in terms that excited ſurpriſe and admiration; and offered, with tears in his eyes, all that he poſſeſſed in the world to repair his misfortune. Who can be informed, without feeling the ſtrongeſt indignation, that this unexampled benevolence was repaid, by Europeans, with the baſeſt ingratitude? The Spaniſh ruffians fell a ſacrifice to the juſt fury of the Indians; but Guacanahari was covered with wounds, in protecting them from his countrymen. Columbus returned, and the generous attachment of theſe benevolent people once more revived.

Bartholomew Columbus, who was appointed deputy governor in the abſence of Columbus, gives us a pleaſing account of the hoſpitality he met with in his progreſs through the iſland to levy tributes. The caciques, underſtanding the fondneſs of the Spaniards for gold, willingly gave all their ſtores; and thoſe who had none gave proviſions or cotton. Among the latter was Behechio, who invited the lieutenant and his attendants to his dominions. As the Spaniards drew near his palace, they were met by his thirty wives, who ſaluted them firſt with a

dance, and next with a general ſong. Theſe matrons were ſucceeded by a train of virgins, diſtinguiſhed as ſuch by their appearance; the former wearing aprons of cotton cloth, while the latter were arrayed only in the innocence of pure nature. Their hair was tied ſimply with a fillet over their foreheads, or ſuffered to flow gracefully on their ſhoulders and boſoms. Their limbs were finely proportioned, and their complexions, though brown, were ſmooth, ſhining, and lovely. The Spaniards were ſtruck with admiration, believing that they beheld the dryads of the woods, and the nymphs of the fountains, realizing ancient fable. The branches which they bore in their hands, they now delivered with lowly obedience to the lieutenant, who, entering the palace, found a plentiful, and (according to the Indian way of living) a ſplendid repaſt already provided. At night they repoſed in cotton hammocks, and next morning were entertained with dancing and ſinging. For three days were the Spaniards thus nobly entertained, and on the fourth, the affectionate Indians regretted their departure.

The government of theſe iſlands was purely and abſolutely monarchical; but the native mildneſs of their characters ſeems to have infuſed a gentleneſs even into the exerciſe of unlimited authority. Had their monarchs trampled upon their rights as far as their prerogative extended, their ſubjects muſt have been too debaſed to be capable of any ſuch generoſity as I have related.

Their caciques were hereditary, and had other

chiefs ſubordinate to themſelves. Oviedo relates, that theſe princes were under the obligation of perſonally attending at the command of the Grand Cacique in peace as well as in war. Thus their government ſeems, in its outlines, to have reſembled the ancient feudatories of Europe; but as to the minuter parts of their conſtitution, Spaniſh hiſtorians have not ſufficiently informed us. The power of the cacique we find was hereditary; and Oviedo informs us, that one of the many wives of the cacique was held as reigning queen, and that the children of this lady, according to priority of birth, ſucceeded to the father's honours; but in default of iſſue by the favourite princeſs, the ſiſters of the cacique took place of the cacique's children by his other wives. It is plain that this regulation was intended to prevent diſputes among a number of candidates for the throne, whoſe pretenſions were equal.

The principal cacique ſurpaſſed his feudal dependants in exterior ornament and dignity, as well as authority. Like the nabob of the eaſt, he was carried from one quarter of his dominions to another upon the ſhoulders of his ſubjects. His will was the ſupreme law; whatever his orders might be, even though commanding the unhappy victim to be his own executioner, the ſubject ſubmitted without heſitation, from a belief that reſiſtance would have been an unpardonable offence againſt the delegate of heaven.

Their ſovereign, when dead, was ſtill an object of veneration: his body was preſerved by embowel-

ling, if he died at home; but if his corpſe could not be procured, from his having fallen in battle, his memory was fondly cheriſhed by the zealous admiration of his countrymen.

Songs were compoſed in his praiſe, which were called *arietoes*. The recital of theſe was a cermony of conſiderable importance; it was made at their public dances, and accompanied with their wild, but impreſſive muſic of the ſhell and the drum. The exploits of the dead prince in war, and his benignity at home, were the themes of theſe effuſions: thus they inſtructed the living, while they celebrated the dead.

In tracing their religious opinions, we are guided by hiſtorians to a ſingle anecdote, which ſeems to indicate, that definite notions of future reſponſibility for the actions done in this life were received into their mythology. A venerable old man, in the Iſland of Cuba, approaching Columbus, preſented a baſket of fruit into his hands, and addreſſed him thus: "Deign, O ſtranger, to accept of this gift. "You are come into our country, and we are nei- "ther able nor willing to reſiſt you. Whether "you are mortal like ourſelves, we know not; but, "if you expect to die, remember that, in the world "to come, the ſituation of the good and bad ſhall "be widely different. If you believe this truth, "you certainly will not hurt thoſe who do not in- "jure you." But their ideas of futurity, though preciſe, were not ſublime: their heaven was like the paradiſe of Mahomet, or the elyſium of the Pagans.

Still, however, true to the affectionate feelings of their nature, they fondly believed that their principal happineſs would conſiſt in the ſociety of their departed friends.

Like the Caraibes, they had an indiſtinct idea of one Supreme Creator, but this belief was clouded with childiſh abſurdities; for their mythology related that their deity changed his abode at pleaſure, from the ſun to the moon, like a town and country houſe; and that his aged father and mother were ſtill alive.

To this ſupreme creator they aſſigned no providence over his works; but repreſented him as indifferent to the happineſs or miſery of his creatures. They believed, however, that his original intention in creating the univerſe was benevolent; although the ſubordinate gods, to whoſe management he had confided his affairs, had grown malicious to mankind, and introduced evil and confuſion. Their idols were hideous and frightful: they implored them not with reverence, but with terror; not with pious hope, but ſuperſtitious diſtruſt.

Their bohitos or prieſts openly aſſembled in every village to invoke theſe demons in behalf of the people. Theſe men added to the profits of their holy profeſſion, the practice of medicine, and the education of children of the firſt rank: A combination of intereſts and reſpectable profeſſions, which muſt have made them tyrants of conſiderable authority. Here, as well as in Europe, religion was made the inſtrument of civil deſpotiſm. The venerated bo-

hito ſanctioned the words of the cacique, by pronouncing him the irreſiſtible delegate of God, and it would have been horrible impiety for the ſubject to have controverted the decree.

Columbus and his people, on one occaſion, detected this proceſs of impoſture, by daſhing down the idol which uttered forth the oracles of the prieſt: A tube was thus diſcovered, which was covered with leaves, and ran to the inner apartment, where the prieſt applied his mouth and ſpoke. The cacique entreated Columbus to keep this detection a ſecret, as from this mode of chicanery he acquired his wealth and maintained his authority.

In point of improvement in thoſe arts, which diverſify the comforts of life, a compariſon has been inſtituted between this people and the natives of Otaheite. I think the priority may with little heſitation be aſcribed to the Weſt Indians. Their agriculture has been repreſented as imperfect; but the direct teſtimony of the brother of Columbus diſcovers that their progreſs in cultivation was conſiderable. "The fields about Zaabra (ſays Bartho-" lomew) were all covered with maize, like the corn " fields of Europe, for above ſix leagues together." Dr. Robertſon, among other authors, has given an unfavourable account of their agriculture; but he founds his concluſion on no other proof than that their implements of huſbandry were made only of hard wood. The Doctor was not acquainted with the ſoil of theſe parts, elſe he would have known

that the ſoil is incapable of much reſiſtance, and can be ploughed with materials ſofter than iron.

In a country ſo delightful, in a ſtate of ſociety ſo ſimple, and with diſpoſitions ſo gentle and benevolent, theſe natives muſt have enjoyed almoſt the perfection of human felicity; but they little apprehended what vipers they cheriſhed in their boſoms, when they admitted the emigrants of Spain to their confidence and hoſpitality. The enormities of the moſt outrageous tyrants, who ever ſported with the convulſive agonies of their fellow creatures, fall infinitely ſhort of the crimes which were committed in the conqueſt which Europe acquired over the New Hemiſphere. Ten millions of the human ſpecies were, at a low computation, ſacrificed in America and the Weſt Indies, to the avarice, wanton barbarity, or religious (it ſhould be called infernal) bigotry of Spain.

The amiable inhabitants of Hiſpaniola amounted, at the arrival of Columbus, to a million at leaſt: Within the ſpace of fifty years, they hardly amounted to ſixty thouſand. They were hunted down, like wild beaſts in the fields, by a fierce ſpecies of dogs, who were trained to feed upon their fleſh, and to lap their blood. The more religious part of the Spaniſh murderers would force them into the water for baptiſm, and cut their throats the next moment leſt they ſhould apoſtatize. It was alſo a common practice to burn or hang thirteen in a morning, in honour of our Saviour and his twelve

apoſtles. "To keep their hands in uſe," they inſtituted games, where their emulation was excited by laying wagers, "who could ſtrike off an Indian "head with greateſt dexterity." The Spaniards at home heard of all theſe enormities; but they had neither juſtice nor compaſſion to protect the innocent. When at laſt the delightful plains of Hiſpaniola were almoſt entirely deſpoiled of their original cultivators, grants were iſſued by the Spaniſh court to ſupply the mines, which were now begun to be dug upon the iſland, by thoſe remaining iſlanders, whom they could ſieze and drag to captivity. To effect this inhuman plan, veſſels were ſent out to the Lucayos, whoſe commanders informed the natives, that they had come to convey them to the land where their forefathers now lived; and that in this delightful paradiſe they would live in perpetual happineſs with their departed friends. The credulous people were deceived, and thus forty thouſand were allured to the miſery which awaited them in the diſmal mines of Hiſpaniola. The poor Lucayans, finding their miſerable miſtake, would refuſe all ſuſtenance, and retiring to the ſea-ſhore of Hiſpaniola, which lay oppoſite to their own country, would caſt many a look towards their native iſlands, and inhale with eagerneſs the ſea breeze which ſprung from that quarter *. When nature was at length exhauſted with grief and hunger, they would ſtretch out their arms, as if to take a laſt farewell embrace, and expire upon the coaſt. Philoſophers have ſome-

* One of theſe wretched Lucayans, more inventive than his

times aſſerted, that no human being will commit an unjuſt or barbarous action, without the view of reaping an actual benefit to himſelf. Every action has ſurely its motive; but can it be explained from what proſpect of advantage the following horrid, but authenticated action was committed by the accurſed executioners of Spain? L. Caſas (who wrote his hiſtory ſhortly after theſe enormities were perpetrated, and who muſt have been eaſily detected had he uttered a falſehood) gives us the following relation, to which he was an eye witneſs.

"A Spaniſh commanding officer had gone to his "afternoon ſlumbers, and left his officer on guard "to tranſact the buſineſs of the afternoon, which "was only to roaſt four or five principal Indians to "death. The officer executed his duty by applying them to a ſlow fire; but the ſcreams of torture, which the poor wretches emitted, were ſo "loud as to diſturb the commander and keep him "from ſleep: he ſent orders that they ſhould be "ſtrangled; but the officer on guard (I know his "name, ſays L. Caſas, and his relations in Seville) "cauſed their mouths to be gagged, that their cries "might not be heard, and ſtirring up the fire with "his own hands, roaſted them deliberately till they "all expired!"

countrymen, having been accuſtomed to build cottages in his own country, framed a canoe out of a jaruma tree, and put out to the ocean, in company with a man and woman. His voyage was proſperous for 200 miles; but alas! when almoſt within ſight of his long wiſhed for ſhores, he was taken by a Spaniſh ſhip, and carried back to miſery!

CHAPTER IV.

Land Animals uſed as Food—Fiſhes—Wild Fowl—Indian Method of Fiſhing and Fowling—Eſculent Vegetables, &c.—Concluſion.

In the Windward Iſlands are found ſeveral ſpecies of animals which are not poſſeſſed by the four larger iſlands: and it is likewiſe obſervable, that all the animals found in theſe iſlands are found in Guiana. From this a very probable conjecture may be derived, viz. that the Caraibbee Iſlands were peopled from the ſouth. Of their animals the moſt remarkable are the following:

The agouti, or Indian coney, called by Linnæus the *mus aguti*, and by Pennant and Buffon the *cavy*, is an animal which appears to be of an intermediate ſpecies between the rat and the rabbit. It is ſeldom or never ſeen in any of the iſlands to the windward, but frequently in Hiſpaniola, Porto Rico, and the higher grounds of Jamaica.

The pecary, or Mexican hog, called by Linnæus the *ſus tajacu*, was found in abundance in the Weſt Indies at the arrival of the Spaniards; but it is now totally exterminated; moſt probably from its courage, which we are told prompted it to turn upon its purſuers, and thus brought it within the reach of ſhot. It is now brought from the continent as a curioſity: I think it differs very little

from the hogs of Europe, except in the aperture of the back, which diſcharges a much eſteemed ſcent, of a muſky kind. The aleo was in the New Hemiſphere, what the dog is with us. The aleo, however, although ſimilar in moſt other reſpects to our dog, did not poſſeſs the power of barking. A Spaniſh hiſtorian informs us, that its noſe reſembled that of a fox; and adds, that the Indians were ſo much attached to this little favourite, that they carried it about with them wherever they went.

The monkey was found in great variety. From the prejudice of cuſtom, we are apt to look upon this animal as unfit for food; it has been found, however, by thoſe who were reduced to make uſe of it, to be palatable and nouriſhing: its flavour is like that of a hare.

The iguana, or guana, is a ſpecies of the lizard (a claſs of animals which hiſtorians heſitate whether to rank as quadrupeds or inſects). The guana is generally found among fruit trees; it is a perfectly gentle and harmleſs animal; although its appearance cannot be the moſt inviting, being generally three feet long, and proportionably thick. Its fleſh was held in high eſtimation by the Indians; and I have been informed by a connoiſſeur in matters of taſte, that it is no way inferior to green turtle. The French and Spaniards made uſe of it wherever it could be found; but the Engliſh, more whimſical in their palate, ſeldom ſerved it at genteel tables.

Labat informs us, that the mode of catching this animal was as follows: They beat among the buſhes

till they found their game baſking on a tree. A Negro then began whiſtling with all his might, and the charmed guana ſat ſtill and liſtening, till the man came near enough to tickle his neck with a rod which he carried in his hand. This operation was alſo highly pleaſing to the animal, who at length turned on his back, and fell aſleep, like a cat before the fire. The Negro then ſlipt a nooſe over his head, and carried him home alive.

The mountain crab is the moſt ſurpriſing animal to be found in theſe iſlands. It now ſurvives only in few places, and I am afraid it will be ſoon totally extirpated. This ſpecies of animals live in a ſtate of ſocial ſociety, and migrate in millions to the ſea ſide once a year. The line of their journey is geometrically direct, and nothing will turn their progreſs from a ſtraight line, unleſs they meet with a ſtream. They divide into ſeparate bands, of which the ſtrongeſt take the lead, and march like pioneers before an army. They prefer marching in the night, unleſs it rains; but if the ſun ſhould break ſuddenly upon them, they halt till the exceſſive heat is over. When at laſt they reach the ſhore, they waſh the ſpawn from their bodies. The eggs are hatched in the ſand, and when the young crabs have formed, they parade back to the mountains, in equal numbers, and with equal regularity. The old crabs alſo return, after diſburdening themſelves of their ſpawn. They now begin to fatten, and retiring to ſeparate holes, prepare for moulting or changing their coats. During this change they remain quite inactive, till

the old ſhell burſts, and the animal, now covered only with a thin membrane, extricates his limbs by degrees. In this moulting ſtate, they are, without doubt, one of the moſt delicious morſels that nature can afford.

Of all the delicious birds which the Weſt Indian woods produce, the moſt juſtly celebrated are the ortolans. They are birds which uſually viſit theſe iſlands in October, whither, it is ſuppoſed, they migrate from Carolina when the rice grows hard. It is not, however, within our plan to treat, with any degree of minuteneſs, of the different ſpecies of birds and fowls which their marſhes and foreſts produce. We ſhall only at preſent deſcribe two very ſingular methods of fowling and fiſhing practiſed, in the times of Oviedo, by theſe iſlanders.

" Their method of fiſhing (ſays that hiſtorian) is " to take out a remora, or ſucking fiſh, which is re- " gularly educated to the ſport. The fiſh is about " a ſpan long; it is ſecured to the canoe by a line " many fathoms in length, and as ſoon as it per- " ceives a fiſh in the water, it darts like lightning " upon its prey. The Indian looſens the line; but " keeps it from ſinking by means of a buoy that " makes it float upon the ſurface of the water. " When the remora ſeems perfectly fatigued with " dragging about the buoy, the Indian takes it up " and ſeparates the ſucker from its prey. Thus, " turtles have been caught of ſuch weight, as no " ſingle man could ſuſtain."

To catch their wild-fowl, they adopted a plan

equally ingenious. When they perceived them ſwimming upon the water, a man covered his head with a calabaſh, or gourd, and ſlipt gently into the pond, keeping only his head above the water, and leaving apertures for his breath and ſight. As the gourd was no uncommon object to the fowls, they were not frightened to ſee it floating; ſo that the Indian had an opportunity to approach them gradually, till at laſt, by pulling them one after another, with a haſty jerk below the water, he faſtened as many as he could to his girdle, and returned loaded with prey.

It were needleſs, at this period, to give a circumſtantial account of all the valuable eſculent vegetables which are produced in the Weſt Indies. Authors of great information and aſſiduity have favoured the world with voluminous deſcriptions of theſe productions; in particular, Sloane, Brown, and Hughes, have been ſyſtematical upon the ſubject. There is ſtill, however, a deficiency in every treatiſe, which the curious reader conſults; namely, the want of punctuality in diſcriminating the indigenous ſpecies of vegetables, from thoſe which have been imported from abroad.

APPENDIX TO BOOK I.

Containing a Short Diſſertation on the Origin of the Caraibes.

THE origin of the Caraibes is not a ſubject of the higheſt importance, and there are few materials which afford certain proof of the juſtice of either one ſuppoſition or another with reſpect to their anceſtry. The queſtion, however, has been matter of much learned diſputation, and it is proper that I ſhould mention the arguments which have inclined me to form an opinion on the ſubject.

Whatever may have been the origin of the other American nations, the probability ſeems to be, that the Caraibes (at leaſt) derived their origin from the Eaſt.

The advocates for this ſuppoſition (it is to be acknowledged) have ſtretched their theory too far; they are not ſatisfied with proving, that America was, in all probability, viſited by Europeans long before the date of Columbus; but aſſert, that navigators paſſed backwards and forwards from ſhore to ſhore, and that the Weſtern Hemiſphere was well known to the ancients.

We have no proof of a veſſel having at any period returned from America; but the want of this proof does not eſtabliſh that America was not viſited by Europeans previous to the date already

mentioned. On the contrary, there is direct evidence that ſuch a circumſtance was poſſible, and there is ſtrong probability that it actually took place.

From the authority of Procopius, the ſecretary of the celebrated Beliſarius, we are aſſured that the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and Canaanites navigated the Weſtern Ocean many hundred years before the Chriſtian era. The Phœnicians diſcover the Azores; their ſucceſſors, the Carthaginians, diſcovered the Canaries; and of the naval ſkill of this latter people we muſt form no mean eſtimate, from their having ſailed along the African coaſt, within five degrees of the line, two centuries and a half before the birth of Chriſt. The *veſtigia ædificiorum*, which they there diſcovered, are proofs of an advanced ſtate of ſociety among a people unnoticed in tradition.

Notwithſtanding the bold aſſertion of that celebrated hiſtoriographer of America (Dr. Robertſon), that all accounts of Phœnician and Carthaginian voyages, received through the medium of Greek and Roman writers, are of ſuſpicious authority; I cannot help ſuppoſing, that from the following well authenticated fact, ancient voyagers were capable of as great undertakings as that of ſailing to the oppoſite coaſt of America.

"Lybia (ſays Herodotus) is every where ſur-
" rounded by the ſea, except on that ſide where it
" joins to Aſia. Pharaoh Necho made this mani-
" feſt. After he had deſiſted from his project of

" digging a canal from the Nile to the Arabian " Gulf, he furniſhed a body of Phœnicians with " ſhips, commanding them to enter the northern " ſea by the Pillars of Hercules, and return by that " route to Egypt. The Phœnicians, therefore, ſail- " ing from the Red Sea, navigated the Southern " Ocean. At the end of autumn they anchored; " and, going aſhore, ſowed the ground, as thoſe " who make a Lybian voyage always do, and ſtaid " the harveſt. Having cut the corn, they ſailed. " Thus, two years having elapſed, they returned " to Egypt, paſſing by the Pillars of Hercules, and " relating a circumſtance, which I can ſcarcely " credit, namely, that ſailing round Lybia, the ſun " roſe on the right hand."

I would aſk how Herodotus came to know that Africa was encompaſſed with water to the ſouth, unleſs ſuch a voyage had been actually made.

It is true, ſuch an attempt would have been impracticable to the limited nautical ſkill of a Greek or Roman voyager; but there is no doubt that the commerce of Phœnicia and Carthage brought the art of ſhip-building and navigation to a great height, in very remote periods of antiquity, although the ſpirit of diſcovery lay for many ages in darkneſs, till it was revived by the improvements of the fifteenth century.

The foregoing relations evince that the ancients were acquainted with the navigation of the Weſtern Ocean; and if we inquire into the nature of the winds and currents on the African coaſt, we

muſt admit that it could not poſſibly happen but that ſome veſſel, proceeding on ſuch a voyage, if ſhe happened to loſe her maſts, muſt have been carried before the wind towards the Weſt Indies or Brazil.

In modern times, accidents of a ſimilar nature have ſeveral times occurred; and ſurely there is no room to conjecture that they did not occur in more remote periods. Where the ſame cauſes exiſt, the ſame effects muſt follow.

Glaſs, in his Hiſtory of the Canary Iſles, informs us, that a ſmall bark, bound from Lancerota to Teneriffe, was driven by ſtreſs of weather from her courſe, and obliged to drive weſtward at the mercy of the waves, till ſhe was met by an Engliſh cruizer, within two days ſail of Caracca, who, after relieving their diſtreſſes, directed them to the port of Guaira on that coaſt.

The ſame author relates, that, when he was in St. Joſeph's in Trinidad, a ſmall veſſel, belonging to Teneriffe, and bound for the Canaries, had been driven from her courſe, and carried by the winds and currents into that iſland. The wretched ſeamen, having only ſome days proviſion on board, were worn down with hunger and fatigue to the appearance of ſkeletons before they reached the port.

An additional proof that America was viſited by other nations before being diſcovered by Columbus, is the well known fact of Columbus himſelf

having found the ſtern poſt of a ſhip lying on the ſhore at Guadaloupe.

It muſt have been ſome accidental voyage of the like nature which drove the colony of Negroes, mentioned by Martyr to have been found at Quarequa in the Gulf of Darien, from the African to the American ſhore.

Although the vocabularies of voyagers, from being picked up among a people, who, deſtitute of fixed ſigns for language, muſt have a very indefinite pronunciation, yet I eſteem the ſimilarity obſervable between the Caraibe and oriental languages to be a ſtriking proof of their being originally the ſame. If the curious reader will conſult Rochefort's Caraibe Vocabulary, with the ancient oriental dialects, he will certainly acknowledge a very viſible reſemblance. And conſidering that the emigration of the Caraibes muſt have taken place many centuries ago, it is evident that no plainer likeneſs of words could have been kept up by nations ſo remote. The inſtances of reſemblance are, at any rate, too numerous to ſuppoſe they originated in accident.

Herodotus tells us that the Lybian voyagers were wont to land on the coaſts, and ſow their corn. Such a practice muſt have occaſioned diſputes with the natives, who muſt have looked upon theſe intruders as vagabond plunderers. It is pretty ſingular that the name *Charaib* has exactly this tranſlation in Arabic.

It is no leſs worthy of obſervation, that the practice of gathering up the feet of the dead, which we are informed by Herodotus and Cicero was univerſally practiſed among the ancient nations, and which by the expreſſion of ſcripture, "gathering "up the feet of the dying," we know was a prevalent cuſtom among the poſterity of Abraham, was found to be ſtill retained among the Caraibes of the New World, who always buried their dead in this poſture.

By the teſtimony of Moſes, we learn, that grief for the loſs of a much-loved friend made it an eſtabliſhed part of the religious ſolemnities of eaſtern nations, to wound the fleſh, and cut ſhort the hair. The Jews, to be ſure, were commanded to abſtain from ſuch a barbarous demonſtration of grief; but the ſurrounding heathens ſtill adhered to the practice. The American Caraibe expreſſed the violence of his grief for a departed friend, exactly in the ſame manner.

The well-known habit of eaſtern Indians chewing the *betele*, prepared with a mixture of calcined ſhells, is too ſtriking a ſimilarity to Caraibbee manners to be omitted. Other inſtances of reſemblance might be traced out; but, from the above illuſtration, it will appear plain, that if there be one conjecture more probable than another, as to the origin of the Caraibe Indians, it is this, "that "they muſt have emigrated, at ſome period, from "the Eaſt."

BOOK II.

JAMAICA.

CHAPTER I.

Diſcovery by Columbus—Proceedings of his Son, Diego, after Columbus's Deceaſe—Takes Poſſeſſion of Jamaica—The humane Character of Eſquivel, the firſt Governor—Invaſion of the Iſland by Sir Anthony Shirley and Colonel Jackſon—Eſtabliſhment and Deſertion of the Town of Suilla Nueva—Deſtruction of the Indians—St. Jago de la Vega founded—Gives Title of Marquis to Diego's Son, Lewis; to whom the Iſland is granted—Deſcends to his Siſter, Iſabella—Reverts to the Crown of Spain.

JAMAICA was not diſcovered by Columbus till his ſecond voyage to the New World. Columbus, it is well known, had returned to Spain, quite undecided whether Cuba was an iſland or a continent. On his return to Hiſpaniola, he ſet ſail from thence, to aſcertain the point; and, in this ſhort voyage, deſcried at a diſtance the Blue Mountains of Jamaica. He accordingly came up to the iſland next day; and, after a very faint oppoſition from its inhabitants, took poſſeſſion of it, with the uſual form, in the name and authority of the King of Spain.

The origin of the name has been diſputed; but it is moſt probably of Weſt Indian origin; becauſe the word is written, by the oldeſt Spaniſh authors, Xaymayco; which ſignifies, in the language of the Indians, a country abounding in ſprings.

In his fourth and laſt voyage, this illuſtrious navigator was driven for ſhelter into a port of this iſland, after loſing two ſhips of his fleet by tempeſtuous weather. On gaining this harbour (which, in honour of his name, was called St. Chriſtopher's Cove), he found his ſhip ſo terribly damaged, as to prevent him from putting to ſea. In this melancholy ſituation, his miſeries were aggravated by every circumſtance that treachery and barbarity could turn againſt him. His people revolted; and, at their inſtigation, the natives alſo became his enemies. His brother and his ſon lay ſtarving and dying beſide him; while, enfeebled with old age, and afflicted with the inſupportable pains of the gout, without medicine, and without compaſſion, the greateſt and worthieſt man of the age was ſuffered to languiſh in affliction. In this ſituation, he wrote a letter to his ſovereign; which, being intercepted by his enemies, is ſtill preſerved in the records of Jamaica. It is replete with the expreſſions of a generous mind, conſcious of the injuſtice of its ſufferings; and, I believe, would have melted the heart even of the ungrateful and beſotted Ferdinand, had it been ſuffered to reach him. It is probable he might have languiſhed to death upon this inhoſpitable ſhore, had not his well-

known device of terrifying the Indians, by the prediction of an eclipſe, reſtored him to reputation and authority. He returned to Spain, but fell a martyr to the ſenſibility of his mind, which could not obliterate the remembrance of his former unmerited ſufferings.

His ſon Diego, the heir of his fortune, continued his entreaties at the court of Spain for a long time; till at laſt, indignant at the falſehood of the king, he commenced a bold and unexpected proceſs againſt his liege, Ferdinand, before the council of the Indies at Seville; and, by a deciſion equally unexpected, was conſtituted viceroy of all the countries diſcovered by his father, and entitled to the tenth part of the gold and ſilver found in theſe dominions. Diego, accordingly, was acknowledged by his ſovereign to be viceroy of Hiſpaniola; for which ſettlement he ſailed with a ſplendid retinue, and landed on the iſland in the month of July 1508.

Conſidering himſelf to be entitled, by the prior ſentence of the Indian council, to nominate a governor of Jamaica, he ſent thither, the following year, Juan de Eſquivel, with ſeventy men. Eſquivel was a brave ſoldier, and a generous man; as his behaviour to his rival, Ojeda, eminently diſplayed. Ojeda had been appointed (unlawfully indeed) by his ſovereign to the government of Jamaica; and, at the time of Eſquivel's arrival, being about to depart to the continent, he publicly threatened Eſquivel, that he ſhould be hanged

as a robber, if at any time found upon Jamaica. Ojeda, however, was unfortunate in his voyage; and, being ſhipwrecked on the coaſt of Cuba, was in danger of periſhing for want. He had no reſource but to beg from his enemy. Eſquivel, on hearing his ſituation, ſent for him, and received him with kindneſs. Their enmity was obliterated, and they became immutable friends.

Under this benevolent protector the iſlanders of Jamaica continued peaceable and happy. His adminiſtration was virtuous and gentle; while the cheerful inhabitants laboured in rearing cotton, and raiſing other valuable commodities.

It is to be lamented, however, that the reign of this illuſtrious governor was but for a few years; and, in all probability, his ſucceſſors abandoned his example, to imitate the barbarities of thoſe ſanguinary men who were by this time ſpreading carnage among the natives of Hiſpaniola.

To this cauſe we may aſcribe that complete extirpation of the Spaniards, which, beyond all doubt, took place at ſome period or other in this iſland.

The town of Sevilla Nueva (New Seville) had ariſen to ſome conſideration. Churches and fortifications had been erected, as we find by the teſtimony of Sloane, who inſpected their ruins in 1688. This author informs us, that he diſcovered a pavement running to the diſtance of two miles from the ſea; and as the town began cloſe upon the beach, its ſize muſt have been conſiderable.

But unfortunately the triumph of the poor Indians was but of ſhort duration. The Spaniards, it is probable, returned in greater numbers to their deſtruction; for, out of 60,000 natives who once poſſeſſed it, not an individual was found alive when the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of Jamaica.

To this day, there are diſcovered in the mountains caves almoſt entirely covered with human bones. It is diſcovered by the ſkulls, which are preternaturally compreſſed, that theſe can be no other than the remains of the unfortunate aborigines, who, probably retiring from the ſwords of the Spaniards, periſhed for want in theſe ſolitary places.

Diego Columbus left three ſons and two daughters. His eldeſt ſon, Don Lewis, at the expiration of his minority, finding his right to the viceroyalty of the Weſt Indians diſputed by the Emperor of Spain, commenced a lawſuit againſt the court as his father Diego had done. The matter came to a compoſition, by which Don Lewis agreed to be Duke of Veragua and Marquis of Vega, accepting Jamaica and Veragua, and renouncing all other claims. He died without iſſue, and his ſiſter Iſabella ſucceeded to all his rights. Owing to her marriage with the Duke of Gelvez, ſhe gave over all her rights to the houſe of Braganza; ſo that in 1640, when John Duke of Braganza became King of Portugal, the Iſland of Jamaica reverted to the crown of Spain.

This ſufficiently accounts for the influx of Por-

tugueſe into Jamaica, which excited ſo much jealouſy in the old Spaniſh ſettlers. It is probable, that from this irreconcileable averſion between the Spaniards and Portugueſe, the Engliſh, under Sir Anthony Shirley, met with ſo little reſiſtance in 1596, when they plundered the capital itſelf. Forty years after, it was invaded by a force from the Windward Iſlands, under Colonel Jackſon; but on this occaſion the inhabitants behaved with remarkable gallantry. Jackſon was defeated, with the loſs of forty men, at Paſſage Fort; and had not his activity, in entering the town of St. Jago de la Vega, enabled him to lay a contribution on the inhabitants, he would have been obliged to retreat from the iſland with neither credit nor plunder.

The moſt remarkable occurrence that we meet with in peruſing the annals of Jamaica, is its invaſion and capture by the Engliſh in 1655, during the protectorſhip of Cromwell, whoſe conduct in this point ſhall be conſidered in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

Vindication of the Character of Cromwell againſt the Allegations of thoſe Hiſtorians who blame him for attacking the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies—The enormous Cruelties of that People deſcribed, in direct Violation of the Treaty of 1630—State of Jamaica on its Capture.

HISTORIANS of oppoſite political principles have united in cenſuring the conduct of Cromwell in his invaſion of Jamaica. Mrs. M'Cauley terms his capture of the iſland "diſhonourable and piratical," and Hume condemns it as "a moſt unwarrantable violation of treaty."

But if the candid inquirer will conſult the State-Papers of Thurloe (the Secretary), he will find ſufficient grounds to diſſent from this ſevere ſentence upon the Protector's conduct: He will find that Spain, by her prior behaviour, juſtly merited ſuch an act of hoſtility; that Cromwell was not the aggreſſor, but the meritorious defender of his country. I ſhall adduce a few remarkable facts to ſupport this aſſertion.

In 1630, three years prior to the Protector's uſurpation, a treaty was concluded between Spain and England; by the firſt article of which it was ſtipulated, that there ſhould be an amicable correſpondence between the ſubjects of both kingdoms in all quarters of the globe. The circum-

ſtances which dictated this treaty were exceedingly urgent, as the Spaniards, previous to this time, had arrogantly aſſumed a monopoly of all communication with the New World, and under that pretence had committed the moſt unwarrantable barbarities upon all other navigators to the American ſeas, and the ſettlers of every other nation who inhabited Weſt Indian poſſeſſions.

All Europe was inſulted by this exorbitant aſſumption; but England was peculiarly provoked to exert her energy in maintaining her rights; for ſhe had already colonized in Virginia, Bermudas, St. Chriſtopher's, and Barbadoes; territories ſome of which Spain had not even diſcovered, and none of which ſhe had ever occupied.

In 1629, the perfidy of the Spaniards was diſplayed in a very odious manner. Under colour of attacking the Dutch ſettlement in Brazil, they fitted out a ſquadron of twenty-four ſhips of force, and fifteen frigates, under the command of Don Frederic de Toledo. The admiral, however, was under ſecret orders to proceed, in the firſt place, to the Iſland of St. Chriſtopher's, and extirpate from thence the French and Engliſh, who peaceably poſſeſſed it.

The Spaniſh force was too great to be reſiſted. The French planters fled to the Iſland of Antigua, and the Engliſh to the mountains. The latter offered to treat with their conquerors, but were forced to unconditional ſubmiſſion. Their inhuman invaders, therefore, ſelected ſix hundred of the

ſtrongeſt Engliſhmen for the mines, drove the reſt, with the women and children, from the iſland, reduced the iſland to a deſert, and proceeded on their voyage.

The abovementioned treaty of 1630 did not put a ſtop to their enormities: eight years after the affair juſt related, they made a deſcent on the little Iſland of Tortuga, and put every man, woman, and child to the ſword!

England would have avenged their deaths, but was at that time herſelf a blood-ſtained theatre of civil war; ſo that the mercileſs Spaniards proceeded in their career of guilt unmoleſted.

Santa Cruz was the next object of their depredation. In 1650 they acted again the ſame tragedy which they had exhibited at Tortuga, butchering even the helpleſs women and children. The place being made a deſert, a colony of Dutch ſettled on it for ſome time, but, on the return of the Spaniards, were maſſacred in their turn. To fulfil the meaſure of their guilt, the very ſhipwrecked mariners of other nations, who were driven to their inhoſpitable ſhores, were condemned for life to labour in the mines of Mexico.

Numberleſs applications were, in conſequence of theſe barbarities, preſented to Cromwell, requiring him to retaliate upon Spain, and wreſt from their cruelty and oppreſſion thoſe tracts of country to which they had no title but the arrogant donation of the Pope.

The moſt conſpicuous of theſe applicants was a

brother of that Sir Henry Gage who was killed at Culham Bridge, in 1644; who pointed out the moſt probable means of ſucceeding, in depriving Spain of her Weſt Indian poſſeſſions. The ſame ingenious author alſo publiſhed a book, entitled, "A New "Survey of the Weſt Indies," in which he handled the ſubject of the Spaniards excluſive right to theſe territories with great perſpicuity.

Cromwell was rouſed to indignation by the repreſentations he received of Spaniſh inhumanity, and determined upon acts of hoſtility. Spain endeavoured to avert the ſtorm by the moſt paltry acts of negotiation; but the court of England was explicit, and declared a fixed reſolution of continuing in peace, upon no other terms, than ſecurity for their poſſeſſions in the Weſt Indies, and a modification of the horrors exerciſed by the inquiſition.

The Spaniſh ambaſſador replied, that theſe demands were "*like aſking his maſter's two eyes*," *and could not be granted.* The Protector therefore prepared for war.

Hiſpaniola was the object of the expedition which was firſt concerted. The fleet was unſucceſsful there; but accompliſhed their point in conquering Jamaica. The capture was made May 1655; but unfortunately Gage, who had planned the expedition, periſhed in its execution.

Not above fifteen hundred whites were found upon the iſland when the Engliſh took poſſeſſion of it. A great tract of the eaſtward part of the country was covered with horſes and horned cattle

in ſuch abundance, that they ran wild in the country. For four months, the Engliſh ſoldiers amuſed themſelves with ſhooting this extraordinary game, and ſlaughtered to the number of 20,000. This appears to me an almoſt inconteſtible proof of the aſſertion before advanced, that the country was at one period depopulated of its white inhabitants by the arms of the natives.

The ſloth and penury of the Spaniſh planters, when the Engliſh landed, was extreme. Their principal export was hogs-lard, hides, and cacoa; a commerce no way more reſpectable than that which is carried on by the ſavages of Madagaſcar. They had almoſt no intercourſe with Europe; they were ignorant and unrefined. The little work they had to do was managed by African ſlaves; ſo that, immerſed in ſloth and ignorance, their lives muſt have been ſpent in a gloomy ſtate of degeneracy.

It muſt be confeſſed, however, that if they had degenerated from their fathers in activity and perſeverance, they had alſo loſt the ferocity and bigotry of the firſt conquerors of America.

Upon the whole, their character was ſuch as to leave no ſhadow of excuſe for the inhumanity exerciſed upon them by their Engliſh conquerors. The terms impoſed upon them were, to ſurrender their ſlaves and effects, and quit the iſland. They turned from the propoſals with indignation, and afterwards, by their deſperate reſiſtance to the Engliſh, ſhowed the impolicy of provoking even the vanquiſhed by ſeverity and injuſtice.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings in the Iſland after its Capture—Diſcontents and Mortality among the Army—Exertions of the Protector—Brayne appointed to the Command—De Oyley re-aſſumes it—His Defeat of the Spaniſh Forces who invaded the Iſland of Cuba—Regular Government eſtabliſhed in Jamaica—Diſputes with the Mother Country, &c. &c.

JAMAICA having thus fallen into the hands of the Engliſh, it continued to be governed by military juriſdiction, till the Protector's death, and the ſubſequent reſtoration of Charles. Commiſſioners had been indeed left on the iſland, whoſe civil authority was intended to temper the rigour of martial law; but theſe having returned to England, the ſole command devolved upon Forteſcue commander of the army, and Goodſon admiral of the fleet. Soon after Forteſcue died; and Colonel De Oyley, next in command, ſucceeded to his authority as preſident of the military council. Such, indeed, was the ſituation of the Engliſh at that time, from the terrible incurſions of the diſpoſſeſſed Spaniards and fugitive Negroes, as to require the ſtricteſt diſcipline that martial law could enforce.

Cromwell, however, ſeemed bent upon maintaining his conqueſts. Encouragement was liberally held out to the inhabitants of the Windward Iſlands, as well as to the ſettlers in North America, to change their ſituation for ſettlements in Jamaica.

From ſimilar offers, vaſt numbers were allured to emigrate both from Scotland and Ireland.

Meanwhile the ſoldiery in the iſland grew tired of their reſidence, idle, and licentious. They had employed themſelves at firſt in ſhooting down the ſcattered cattle of the Spaniards, like wild beaſts, and for a while lived profuſely. But the ſtock now began to grow exceedingly ſcanty, and no arguments could perſuade them to anticipate the danger of famine, by timeous application to raiſing proviſions. Deſirous of home, and apprehenſive that they were to be ſtationed for life in this intemperate climate, they reſolved to abſtain from ſupporting their own wants, that government might be tired with the expences of ſupplying them. But the conſequences of this reſolution were more fatal than expectation. The horrors of famine ſpread abroad; they were reduced to devour vile and unwholeſome animals, ſnakes, lizards, and every ſpecies of vermin; an epidemic diſeaſe ſoon became prevalent, and the miſerable coloniſts periſhed in thouſands,

The Protector falſely imagined, that the calamities of Jamaica were owing to the Governor De Oyley's want of attachment to his cauſe. This able commander was therefore recalled, and Colonel Brayne, from Lochaber, appointed in his place. Brayne ſet ſail from Scotland, and landed at Jamaica, December 1656. His firſt letter to England deſcribed, in ſtrong language, the miſerable diſtraction which prevailed in the colony: he

requeſted a ſupply of 5000l. for the purpoſe of erecting forts; and concluded, by lamenting that he found ſo few men upon the iſland "cordial to the "buſineſs." But Brayne's projected improvements were not carried into execution under his government; for though a very ſagacious, he was not a firm man. He ſoon ſeemed to become himſelf no way cordial in the buſineſs; he grew apprehenſive about his health, returned to England, and died. Previous to his departure, however, he had nominated De Oyley his ſucceſſor, and Cromwell, probably diſcerning his merit, ratified the appointment.

The ſucceſſion of this gallant man to the government of Jamaica, proved the benefit of the riſing colony. His ſoldiers, amid all their mutinous diſcontents, and manifold diſtreſſes, eſteemed and admired his character; and, as will be immediately ſeen, manifeſted their attachment by the moſt ſignal intrepidity in protecting the iſland.

The governor of Cuba had learnt with ſatisfaction the diſcontents, the plague, and the famine, which had brought Jamaica to the very brink of ruin, and earneſtly wiſhed to avail himſelf of its miſeries. Having therefore correſponded upon his intended invaſion with the viceroy of Jamaica, he ſent out Don Chriſtopher Arnoldo, with thirty companies of infantry, to capture the place.

On the 8th of May the Spaniſh force landed at Rio Nuevo, and poſſeſſed the harbour. De Oyley, with 700 Engliſhmen, watched them by ſea, ſtormed their fortifications, and drove them, with the loſs

of colours, ammunition, and half their men, in diſgrace from the iſland.

They turned from this victory to a labour leſs honourable, namely, the purſuit of thoſe wretched Spaniards who, driven from their paternal properties, had ſtill lurked in the mountains. Theſe, after a vigorous ſtand, were at laſt overpowered, and the gleanings of them driven to their countrymen in Cuba.

The appearance of the colony now began to brighten. Agriculture was practiſed induſtriouſly at home, and their commerce became extenſive abroad. Letters of marque being alſo granted to thoſe extraordinary adventurers called Bucaneers, the immenſe Spaniſh prizes which they took were brought into the harbours of Jamaica, and by promoting a ſpeedy circulation of wealth, ſtimulated the efforts of the induſtrious. The troubles which at that time agitated England, contributed not a little to increaſe the population of the place; eſpecially in 1660, at the Reſtoration, when the friends of the late uſurpation, apprehenſive of Charles's reſentment, ſought for aſylum among a people whom they knew to be adherents of Cromwell.

On the acceſſion of Charles, the king, to conciliate the affections of the people, nominated their favourite De Oyley governor in chief, and releaſing the people from military law, erected courts of judicature, and ordered them to be governed by an aſſembly elected by the people themſelves.

Theſe indulgencies from the crown, or rather this eſtabliſhment of the natural rights of the inha-

bitants, was ſucceeded by the American treaty, concluded between Spain and Great Britain, which confirmed to the poſſeſſors of eſtates in Jamaica the entire right over their property. A ſurmiſe had ariſen which inſinuated, that as the capture of Jamaica was made under the auſpices of the Protector, the right of the Engliſh was not valid. The vulgar opinion, that the Spaniards ſtill pretend a right to diſpoſſeſs the landed proprietors of Jamaica, is only a continuation of this error. The treaty ſigned at Madrid is, however, perfectly explicit on this ſubject, and formally cedes the Weſt Indian poſſeſſions of the king of Britain "to his heirs for ever." It is well known, however, that Charles's propenſity to diminiſh the liberty of his people grew very ſtrong towards the laſt of his days. While he was buſy, in concert with his miniſters, in forming plans for the ſubverſion of liberty at home, he did not loſe ſight of his poſſeſſions abroad. Accordingly, in the beginning of the year 1678, he began to open violation of the rights of the inhabitants of Jamaica. A conſtitution was framed, by the terms of which it was enacted, that all bills (money bills excepted) ſhould be ſufficiently valid, if they were ſuggeſted by the governor or his council, and ſanctioned by his majeſty; while the legiſlative aſſembly, elected by the people, had no other taſk than to meet and blindly ratify theſe arbitrary dictates of their governor and king.

The moſt probable cauſe of this unjuſt ſeverity on the part of the Britiſh government, was the ſtre-

nuous refuſal they had lately made to burden themſelves with an enormous internal revenue of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to the crown, on the groſs produce of the iſland. The Barbadians had meanly conſented to impoſe this tax upon themſelves and poſterity, and miniſters, diſappointed to find that Jamaica did not follow their example, reſolved to deprive the iſland of the bleſſings of freedom.

The aſſembly rejected the new conſtitution with indignation. Among other zealous patriots, Colonel Long, at that time chief judge of Jamaica, ſtood forward with undaunted fortitude in defence of his injured countrymen. Lord Carliſle the governor endeavoured to extinguiſh the ſpirit of liberty, by ſending home, as a priſoner of ſtate, this diſtinguiſhed gentleman; but on his arrival at England, he pointed out, with ſo much energy and preciſion, the fatal tendency of thoſe deſpotic laws which they meditated impoſing on Jamaica, that government thought it convenient to abandon the meaſure, and appointed Colonel Long governor of Jamaica in the room of Lord Carliſle.

The conteſt between the mother country and her colony did not terminate here. The aſſembly ſtill poſſeſſed the power of enacting decrees, but it required the concurrence of the crown to give theſe enactments the force of laws. Government ſeemed to conſider their abandoning their former unjuſt pretenſions to alter the conſtitution, as a poſitive favour, and greedily looked for ſome requital. Jamaica continued obſtinate in refuſing this gratuity, alleg-

ing, with propriety, that ſuch a gift would be put by Charles to the moſt improper purpoſes: and the ſovereign, to puniſh their contumacy, ſtill refuſed aſſent to their decrees. Thus the laws of Jamaica continued for fifty years in a perplexed and undecided ſituation; till at laſt a perpetual grant of 8000l. per annum mollified the temper of the king, and brought the matter to a compromiſe.

In 1687, Chriſtopher Duke of Albemarle was created by James II. governor of this iſland. At no time did government aſſume a more tyrannical aſpect than under this proud man's adminiſtration. We may judge of his general character by his behaviour in one aſſembly which he called. A patriotic member having exclaimed, "Salus populi ſuprema "lex;" the intolerant tyrant broke up the aſſembly in haſte, took the gentleman into cuſtody, and fined him 600l. for the heinous offence!

In 1692, the town of Port Royal was ſwallowed up by a tremendous earthquake. The inhabitants were hardly recovering from its terrors, when they were alarmed by the rumours of invaſion.

In June 1694, Monſieur De Caſſe appeared off Cow Bay, and landed 800 men, who had orders to ravage the country as far as Port Morant. The ſoldiers obeyed their orders with ſtrictneſs, inhumanly butchering and deſtroying wherever they went. De Caſſe on their return ſailed round to Carliſle Bay, which was feebly defended by 200 militia. He was upon the point of proceeding upwards to ravage the country, after forcing theſe defenders of the breaſt-

work to retire, when five companies of militia arrived from Spaniſh Town. Theſe hardy troops, though they had marched thirty miles without refreſhment, charged the enemy with vigour, and drove them to their ſhips with their ingloriouſly acquired plunder.

CHAPTER IV.

Situation—Climate—Face of the Country—Mountains, and Advantages derived from them—Soil—Uncultivated Lands—Woods—Rivers—Ore—Vegetables—Kitchen Garden produce and Fruits.

JAMAICA is ſituated in the Atlantic Ocean, about four thouſand miles ſouthweſt of England. It has the Iſland of Hiſpaniola to the eaſt, Cuba to the north, the Gulf of Honduras to the weſt, and the great continent of South America to the ſouth.

The centre of Jamaica is about 18° 12′ north latitude, and 76° 45′ weſt longitude from London. The reader will readily perceive, that a country ſo ſituated muſt be almoſt invariably hot, during all the ſeaſons of the year; that the twilight will be ſhort, and the difference in the length of days and nights inconſiderable.

As you aſcend up the country from the northern ſhores of Jamaica, the eye is charmed with the gentle ſwell of the hills, and the ſpacious vales that lie between them. The dark green woods of pimento, ſo beautifully diſpoſed upon theſe mountains, forms a delightful contraſt to the freſh verdure of the turf below. From the nature of the pimento tree, the foreſts are not entangled with underwood; and from the nature of the ſoil, the graſs is as ſmooth and ſoft as an Engliſh lawn. To gratify at once the ear and

the eye, a refreſhing rivulet wanders through every valley, and a caſcade daſhes from every mountain. The view of theſe cataracts gleaming from the mountains, which overhang the ſhore, is peculiarly delightful to the thirſty voyager, who has long wiſhed for land.

As you approach the centre of the iſland, an immenſity of foreſts preſents the view which melts into the diſtant Blue Hills, and theſe again are loſt in the clouds.

In approaching the iſland from the ſouth ſide, the eye is rather aſtoniſhed than delighted, when the huge precipices, abruptly mingling with the ſky, at firſt preſent themſelves. As you come nearer you diſcern the hand of culture enlivening the ſcene, and the flowing line of the lower range of mountains becomes apparent. At length you gain a proſpect of the wide ſpreading ſavannahs, plains only bounded by the ocean, and diſplaying in one landſcape the verdure of ſpring and the richneſs of autumn; while the ſails of numberleſs veſſels upon the diſtant main, complete the diverſified beauty of the proſpect.

In attending to theſe majeſtic ſwellings of the ground from the level of the country, we ought to remark with gratitude the ſingular benefits which they ſerve. In aſcending theſe heights, the traveller feels it a ſenſible pleaſure to eſcape from the heat below, to the purer regions of the atmoſphere. On theſe higher grounds the thermometer changes many de-

grees; in many places the inconvenience of a tropical latitude is hardly felt.

Jamaica is one hundred and fifty miles in length, and, at a medium, forty miles in breadth. It is thus computed (ſuppoſing it a level country) to give 3,840,000 of acres; but ſince the ſuperficies of a mountain is greatly larger than its baſe, I would compute the total at 4,080,000 acres.

By returns made in November 1789, it was found, that out of all this tract of ground, not more than 1,907,589 acres were in a ſtate of cultivation: the expence of obtaining patents from the crown being thought more than the profit, which could accrue from cultivation of new lands.

By the lateſt returns, we find the number of ſugar plantations on the iſland to be 710. Allowing 900 acres to each of theſe (of which one third is reſerved for firewood and common paſturage), the number of acres under that ſpecies of cultivation will be 639,000. Of pens or breeding farms there are 400; allowing to each of which 700 acres, the amount is 280,000. About one half of that number may be allowed to pimento, cotton, coffee, and ginger, which makes the ſum total of acres 1,059,000. The overplus of uncultivated land is 3,000,000 of acres, of which not above one fourth, I believe, is fit for cultivation, the reſt being inacceſſible ridges.

The productions of theſe uncultivated mountains are, however, not without their uſe. Of the harder ſpecies of wood, they produce in abundance lignum-vitæ, logwood, iron-wood, and bully trees. Of the

ſofter kinds, wild-lemon tree, bread-nut and mahogany. When the ſituation of the land enables a proprietor to export theſe varieties of timber, the profit is conſiderable; but in the upland countries, the new ſettler finds it his intereſt to apply the torch to his foreſts, and clear his land inſtantaneouſly.

Of their rivers, none are ſufficiently deep to be navigable, although there are above an hundred in the iſland. Black River in St. Eliſabeth, indeed, admits flat bottomed boats and canoes: it is a gently flowing water. The moſt remarkable of their ſprings is that in the eaſtern pariſh of St. Thomas, flowing from a rock, and of a heat intolerable to the touch. It is of a ſulphureous quality; peculiarly adapted to alleviate that dreadful complaint, called the *dry belly-ache*.

Ancient writers aſſert that gold and ſilver might be abundantly found in the iſland; and indeed, in many places, the aſpect of the ſoil confirms the aſſertion; but the preſent inhabitants are perhaps better employed, than in the purſuit of theſe highly valued reſources.

Sugar, indigo, coffee, and cotton are the moſt important of their productions. Of theſe we ſhall in future give a minute account; but proceed at preſent to make remarks on thoſe other claſſes of vegetables, which, though unfit for commerce, miniſter to their comfortable ſubſiſtence. Maize, or Indian corn, produces a double crop: it is planted whenever there is rain, and yields about thirty buſhels per acre. Guinea corn, planted in September and

gathered in January, yields about fifty buſhels per acre. Various kinds of calavances (a ſort of pea) are alſo produced; and laſtly, rice, but to no extent: the labour of negroes being thought to be unprofitably applied in its cultivation.

The iſland produces abundance of graſs, both indigenous and extraneous. The ſpecies which is generally called *Scots graſs*, has been by ſome eſteemed an herb of foreign origin; but I am fully perſuaded, from its ſpontaneous growth in the ſwamps, and deſert places of Jamaica, that it is truly a native of the iſland. It has a long jointed ſtalk, that grows to the height of five or ſix feet. Fifty-ſix pounds of it will feed a horſe for a day; ſo that by computation an acre will ſupport ſix horſes for a twelvemonth.

The other ſpecies of graſs is by far the moſt important; for, to the importation of this herb into the iſland, we may aſcribe the origin of thoſe innumerable breeding farms, which now cover the face of Jamaica. The introduction of this graſs was merely accidental: a Mr. Ellis, chief juſtice of the iſland, had been preſented with ſome extraordinary birds, and ſome graſs ſeeds of this kind were ſent from the Coaſt of Guinea as their food. The birds happened to die, and the ſeeds were thrown careleſsly aſide into a neighbouring fence; but ſoon ſpringing up and flouriſhing, they attracted the cattle by their flavour. Mr. Ellis fortunately took notice of the propenſity of his cattle to this new ſpecies of graſs: he accordingly collected, and ſowed the ſeeds of it, which thriv-

ing in a ſhort time, became an univerſal bleſſing to the country.

European garden-ſtuffs flouriſh here, even with a ſuperior flavour to thoſe of their indigenous climate; and the markets of Kingſton are as well ſupplied with eſculent vegetables as any in the world. The native vegetables of the country are, perhaps, more wholeſome and delicious than thoſe of foreign growth. No vegetables can ſurpaſs, for the purpoſes of domeſtic uſe, the yam, the plantain, the eddoes, caſſavi, and ſweet potatoes. Indeed, the plantain is by Europeans and natives confeſſed to be ſuperior to bread itſelf.

Their more elegant fruits are both numerous and delightful. No country can boaſt of more fragrant productions than the pine apple, the tamarind, the papa, the guava, the caſhew apple, the cuſtard apple, the cocoa nut, the ſtar apple, the grenadilla, the avocado pear, the hog plum, the pindal nut, the neſbury, the mammee, Spaniſh gooſeberry, and prickly pear. From Spain I believe were imported the orange, the lemon, the lime, the vine, the ſhaddock, the fig, and the pomegranate. England has contributed but a ſmall ſhare to their ſtock; the ſtrawberry imported thence will only come to perfection in a high mountainous ſituation.

It would be injuſtice to the merits of Lord Rodney to omit mentioning, that the mango, the genuine cinnamon, and ſeveral other invaluable oriental plants, were preſents from his Lordſhip. Having found theſe plants on board a French ſhip which

accidentally fell in his way, he generouſly ſent them to Jamaica.

The cinnamon is now almoſt a native plant of the iſland; and the mango is as common as the orange.

CHAPTER V.

Topographical Deſcription—Towns, Villages, and Pariſhes—Church-Livings, Veſtries—Governor, or Commander in Chief—Courts of Judicature—Public Offices—Coins—Militia—Inhabitants—Trade—Shipping—Exports—Imports.

JAMAICA is divided into three counties; Cornwall, Middleſex, and Surrey.

Middleſex has eight pariſhes, and thirteen villages. The chief town is Spaniſh Town, where the governor reſides, and where the chancery and ſupreme court of judicature are convened.

Cornwall contains three towns, and five pariſhes. The moſt diſtinguiſhed of its towns are on the north ſide; viz. Montego Bay, and Falmouth. The latter was, as late as 1771, compoſed of only eighteen houſes, and poſſeſſed a ſhipping of only ten veſſels. Its progreſs, however, ſince that time, has been very rapid, as it now contains two hundred and twenty houſes, and upwards of thirty large ſhips, beſides inferior craft.

Montego Bay contains two hundred and fifty houſes, and ſix hundred white inhabitants. It is a rich and proſperous town, with a ſhipping of conſiderable extent.

Savannah la Mar was once almoſt entirely ſhaken to ruins by an earthquake; but is now rebuilt to the extent of about ſeventy houſes.

It ſometimes happens that, for the ſake of convenience, two or more of theſe pariſhes are conſolidated into one: theſe, like the ſingle pariſhes, are governed by a magiſtrate who is called *Cuſtos Rotulorum*, and juſtices of the peace. A quorum of theſe juſtices can decide upon diſputes not exceeding twenty pounds; and a ſingle one, upon matters not exceeding forty ſhillings.

Jamaica contains eighteen churches and chapels, each of which is provided with a rector. The livings of theſe are from 300l. to 2000l. per annum: the incumbent alſo enjoys a houſe and glebe provided by the pariſh; or elſe is entitled to an equivalent of fifty pounds a-year. The addition of the glebe makes the ſalary very comfortable. The governor, as repreſentative of his majeſty, has the patronage of all theſe livings; he has alſo the prerogative of ſuſpending from duty, in caſe of mal-behaviour in the incumbent. It muſt be obſerved, that ſuſpenſion from duty is equivalent to ſuſpenſion from the benefice.

The veſtries, which are compoſed of a cuſtos and ſome juſtices, the rector and ten veſtry-men elected by the freeholders, have the ſole power of appropriating taxes, repairing highways, and collecting the civil and eccleſiaſtical contributions.

Similar to the Engliſh courts of judicature, is held at Spaniſh Town an aſſembly called the Grand Court. It is compoſed of gentlemen of the iſland, who act as aſſiſtant judges without fee or reward. Three of theſe conſtitute a quorum, and the chief juſtice of

the iſland ſits as preſident *. If the action they have decided upon be above 300l. an appeal lies to the governor and his council; if the caſe be felony or death, to the governor alone.

By an ingenious mode of arranging the periods of their aſſizes, the inhabitants have a law court regularly every month in the year. In addition to theſe, they have the chancery court, the ordinary, and the admiralty. No appeal can be had from the ſupreme court to that of the aſſizes, but the deciſions in the aſſize court, coming as the immediate conſequents of the other, both theſe deciſions are conſidered as the determination of one body.

The governor of Jamaica preſides as ſole chancellor, from the nature of his office. In addition to this vaſt ſource of emolument and influence, he is ordinary for granting letters of adminiſtration, and is the ſole officer for the probate of teſtaments. His ſalary is exactly 5000l. currency a-year: from the fees of various courts he draws an emolument of 2550l: from the farm which is allotted to his uſe, and the polink, or proviſion in the mountains, which is, like the former uſufruct, plentifully ſtored with negroes, he ſhould enjoy 1000l. So that his whole revenue muſt be paramount to 6000l. Sterling; and it is well known the expences of his ſtation may be genteelly defrayed upon one half of that ſum.

The office of enrolments is held uniformly at Spaniſh Town. In this regiſter the laws are kept in re-

* The Governor's income, perquiſites included, amounts to about 3000l. per annum.

cord, as likewiſe wills, deeds, patents, and ſales. It is neceſſary that every perſon who has ſtaid ſix weeks on the iſland ſhould obtain a paſſport from this court before he quits the iſland; and ſhipmaſters are debarred, by a penalty of a thouſand pounds, from admitting any one on board their veſſels unprovided with ſuch a paſs. Guardians of orphans and poſſeſſors of mortgages are alſo obliged to regiſter here the annual produce of the eſtates under their tuition.

The profits of this office are held by his Majeſty's patent; their amount cannot be leſs than 6000l. per annum, but the labour of the buſineſs is performed by clerks cheaply hired.

It was mentioned in a former part of the book, that Jamaica was, at that period, under military law. Accordingly we find the remains of this ſpecies of authority in the office of provoſt-marſhal-general, a office of high rank and conſiderable prerogative. He holds his office from the crown, his powers and authorities are various, and he has the power of appointing deputies over the whole iſland.

The office of clerk of the ſupreme court is in like manner held by a crown patent, and performed by deputation. It was at one period worth 9000l. currency, though now diminiſhed in value.

There are numberleſs other offices of a very lucrative nature, held both by a patent and commiſſion, and executed by deputation; which remit to the poſſeſſors in Great Britain not leſs than the ſum of 30,000l.

The legiſlative body is compoſed of a captain-general, or commander in chief; a council of twelve appointed by the crown; and a houſe of aſſembly, conſiſting of forty-three members. It is requiſite that every elector poſſeſs a freehold of 10l. a-year; and that the repreſentative poſſeſs an eſtate of 3000l. a-year, or 3000l. of perſonal property. As ſoon as a bill has obtained the governor's aſſent, it paſſes into law, and continues to be held as ſuch till the royal diſapprobation be expreſſed.

The main object of enacting ſuch laws is to ſuit thoſe local circumſtances to which the law of England cannot be applied *. Where the Engliſh ſyſtem will in part apply, but is found inconvenient, it has been altered and modified to ſuit their pleaſure.

The revenues of the iſland are either annual or perpetual; the latter revenue, as was before mentioned, was yielded up as a peace-offering to the Britiſh government; the former is granted as a yearly allowance by the aſſembly.

The whole product of the revenue law may be 12,000l. The annual revenue may amount at preſent to 70,000l. It muſt be remarked, that the humane proviſion which is allotted to the military reſident in this iſland requires a great proportion of this ſum; every commiſſioned officer being allowed 20s. per week, beſides his majeſty's pay, and every private 5s. The wives and children of the

* Thus in points regarding the ſlave-trade.

ſoldiers are alſo entitled to a ſhare of this proviſion. The ſum expended on theſe purpoſes is about 40,000l.

Beſides occaſional ſupplies voted by the aſſembly, as neceſſity requires, there is a regularly raiſed tax on negroes imported, and negroes kept as ſlaves, wheel carriages, ſtock, ſpirits retailed and conſumed, and laſtly, a tax (the moſt productive of any) of 13l. or ſometimes 26l. per annum, on all thoſe proprietors of ſlaves who do not keep one white man for every thirty blacks in their poſſeſſion.

The current coins in Jamaica are half johannes, valued in England at 36s. each, here at 55s. Of Spaniſh gold coins they have dubloons, valued at 5l. 5s. and piſtoles at 26s. 3d. They have Spaniſh ſilver coins, from the milled dollar at 6s. 8d. to the bitt at 5d. Sterling. A guinea paſſes for 32s. 6d. This, however, is conſiderably more than the uſual rate of exchange, by which 100l. Sterling gives 140l. currency.

The ſituation of Jamaica requires a powerful militia; and accordingly, in ſtrictneſs of law, every man from fifteen to ſixty ought to carry arms, and provide his clothes and accoutrements. This law is not, however, very exactly obſerved; for they do not, in times of the greateſt danger, muſter more than 7000 effective troops.

The bulk of the people of Jamaica are unmarried men; for Europeans come here not to get families, but to acquire riches. From this circumſtance it is difficult to ſtate, with preciſeneſs, the number of white men in the whole iſland. By a computation

made in 1780, their number was eſtimated at 25,000.

A number of loyal Americans have ſince fixed themſelves in Jamaica; ſo that, including troops and ſeafaring people, their number may probably amount to 30,000.

Of the freed negroes and people of colour, there are, upon an average, 500 in each pariſh. Maroons (thoſe negroes who fought for their freedom, and after obtaining it, retired to the interior of the iſland), have certainly increaſed in their numbers very much of late. In 1770, they amounted to 885; their number, by the lateſt computation, is advanced to 1400.

The negroes ſtill in a ſtate of ſlavery amounted, at the laſt made calculation, to 210,894. It has been made to appear, however, pretty probable, that from the fraudulent concealment of poſſeſſors, not leſs than 40,000 have been kept out of the calculation. The total number, therefore, of the inhabitants of Jamaica (at the neareſt calculation) amounts to 291,400.

The trade of this iſland will be beſt underſtood from the following liſt of the number of veſſels of all kinds, which cleared from the ſeveral ports of entry in Jamaica in the year 1787, excluſive of ſmaller craft.

	Number of Veſſels.	Tonnage.	Men.
For Great Britain -	242	63,471	7748
Ireland - -	10	1231	91
American States	133	13,041	893
Britiſh American Colonies	66	6133	449
Foreign Weſt Indies	22	1903	155
Africa - -	1	109	8
Total -	474	85,888	9344

It muſt be obſerved, however, that great part of many articles in the preceding account are brought into Jamaica from the other iſlands, and are paid in Britiſh manufactures and negroes. By the ſame medium, quantities of bullion are imported into Britain, of which no preciſe account can be procured.

The account of imports into Jamaica will ſtand thus:

Inſpector-General's Account of the Jamaica Exports, between the 5th of January 1787 and the 5th of January 1788; with the Value in Sterling Money, according to the Prices then current at the London Market.

To what PARTS.	Sugar.	Rum.	Meladſes.	Pimento.	Coffee.	Cotton Wool.	Indigo.
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Gallons.	Gallons.	lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
To Great Britain -	824706 2 25	1890540	2316	606904	3706 3 27	1899967	27223
Ireland - -	6829 0 0	106700	—	2800	10 0 0	5500	400
American States	6167 0 0	327325	1800	6450	2566 0 2	—	—
Br. Amer. Colonies	2822 0 0	207660	2300	200	110 3 8	1000	—
Foreign W. Indies	24 0 0	2200	—	—	2 0 0	—	—
Africa - -	—	8600	—	—	—	—	—
Totals -	840548 2 25	2543025	6416	616444	6395 3 9	1906467	27623

(Continued.)

To what PARTS.	Ginger.	Cacao.	Tobacco.	Mahogany.	Logwood.	Miſcellaneous Articles.	Total Value.
	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	Cwt. qrs. lbs.	lbs.	Tons. Cwt.	Tons.	Value.	
						£. s. d.	£. s. d.
To Great Britain -	3553 2 15	82 3 15	18140	5783 4	6701	147286 3 4	2022814 7 10
Ireland - -	918 0 0	—	—	95 0	—	—	25778 10 0
American States	339 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	60095 18 0
Br. Amer. Colonies	4 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	26538 2 5
Foreign W. Indies	2 0 0	—	—	—	—	—	355 19 0
Africa - -	—	—	—	—	—	—	860 0 0
Totals -	4816 2 15	82 3 15	18140	5878 4	6701	—	2136442 17 3

It is poſſible, that this account may not be entirely exact; and that the ſurplus ariſing from the exceſs of exports may be more or leſs than here ſtated; but ſince the final profit centres in the mother country, this is a point of little importance. To ſhow the propriety of this concluſion, let us attend to an extract of a report made by the Lords Commiſſioners for Trade and Plantations, in the year 1734.

"The yearly amount of exports to Jamaica is, at "a medium of four years, 147,675l. 2s. $3\frac{3}{4}$d. In the "ſametime, the medium of imports is 539,499l. 18s. "$3\frac{1}{2}$d; the exceſs of imports is therefore 391,824l. "15s. $11\frac{3}{4}$d. But this exceſs is not a debt from Ja"maica to Britain; moſt of it muſt be put to the "account of goods ſent to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, "whoſe return is made by way of Jamaica; ano"ther to the debt of Jamaica to African trades for "ſlaves; and a third to North America, who gives, "in part payment of Britiſh debts, conſignments "from Jamaica, produced by her ſupplies to that "iſland. The remainder is clear profit made upon "our trade, whether by the medium of Africa, or "directly."

The mention of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies leads me naturally to give an account of the trade which ſubſiſted between Jamaica and theſe iſlands, and which is in fact ſtill carried on.

About the beginning of the preſent century, this trade was ſo beneficial to Britain as to cauſe an annual ſale of Britiſh goods, to the amount of 1,500,000l. in value. Spain, more anxious to encourage ex-

ports from her own harbours, than to promote the good of her colonies, ordered her ſubjects in the Weſt Indies to accept of no other manufactures than thoſe of the mother country; although ſhe was evidently unfit to provide them with any tolerable proportion of the articles they required. The coloniſts, ſenſible of this circumſtance, kept up a contraband commerce with the Engliſh, whom they guided with their own veſſels into thoſe ſequeſtered harbours, moſt fit for conducting ſecret trade. In return for the articles thus imported, the Spaniards imported into the Britiſh Weſt India iſlands other articles every way as requiſite for their convenience, viz. horned cattle, mules, horſes, and bullion. This return of commodities on the part of the Spaniards, was in fact inconſiſtent with the navigation act; but the Britiſh government, more ſincere to the intereſt of her colonies than the court of Spain, declined the puniſhment of this beneficial deviation from the law. The Britiſh miniſter, however, in 1764, diſcontinued this indulgence; and, adhering to the rigour of the navigation laws, ordered all Spaniſh veſſels in our Weſt Indian ports to be confiſcated. This was completely gratifying the wiſhes of Spain; but it did a very ſerious injury to our own colonies; for, in the year following, the exports to Jamaica fell ſhort 168,000l. Sterling. A ſucceeding miniſtry, it is true, reſtored the former indulgence; but the matter coming to the ears of Spain, they endeavoured to counteract the meaſure, by laying an opener trade than formerly to her Weſt India iſlands, by which

the temptation to Engliſh commerce might ceaſe. Still, however, it is probable that the ſuperiority of Britiſh manufactures would have ſecured them a market, if the ports of Dominica and Jamaica had not been laid open to all foreign veſſels. By this means the jealouſy of the Spaniards was alarmed; they procured by ſome ſecret means a copy of the regiſter which was kept at the Britiſh free ports, of all perſons in Spain concerned in the illicit trade. Theſe were made immediate victims of public revenge, and ſubjected to the moſt deplorable cruelties. Britain recalled the orders for opening the ports when it was too late; for the Spaniards had too much cauſe to decline any farther connection. A contraband trade, however, is ſtill kept up to the Spaniſh iſlands by ſuch veſſels as can elude the vigilance of the guarda coſtas.

With regard to the propriety of the free port bill, there are many arguments in its favour. It is true, that, upon pretence of entering the ports with lawful commodities, many of the ſmaller veſſels might run up the unfrequented creeks, and diſtribute contraband articles; ſuch as French cambrics, wines, brandy, &c. Admitting it to be the caſe, that the partial commerce of Jamaica might have been injured by theſe practices; ſtill they muſt have benifited the empire at large, as the indigo and cotton, imported through the medium of foreign commerce, are articles ſo eſſentially neceſſary to Britiſh manufactures. Theſe views powerfully affected the Houſe of Commons, when, in 1774, they ordained the

trade to be free, by an act which is ſtill continued. Indeed, the moſt forcible argument urged on the ſubject, was, that the free ports would thus become a market for the African ſlaves, who would be brought in by the owners through the temptation of having ready money for their cargoes.

An illuſtration of the truth of this remark was very ſignally diſplayed, when the Spaniſh Aſſiento Company having obtained permiſſion to purchaſe ſlaves from the neighbouring iſlands, applied for that purpoſe to Jamaica. The Britiſh government, willing to encourage the traffic, took off the exportation poll-tax upon negroes; and the reſult was, that for the next ten years the import of ſlaves exceeded that of the ten former by 22,000 and odds.

Having thus briefly deſcribed the trade and commerce of Jamaica, we proceed to give a ſhort account of its progreſs in cultivation for a century paſt.

As far back as 1673, we find the iſland contained 7000 whites, and 9000 negroes. Its chief productions were, at that time, cacao, indigo, and hides. About this period the manufacture of ſugar was begun. As late as 1722, no more than 11,000 hogſheads of this article were produced.

In 1734, the iſland contained about 7000 whites, 86,000 negroes, and 76,000 head of cattle. Its imports to Britain were then valued at 539,499l. 18s. $3\frac{1}{2}$d. Sterling.

In 1744, the whites amounted to 9000, the ne-

groes to 112,000, and the cattle to 88,000. The exports were now valued at 600,000l. Sterling.

In 1768, the whites were ſuppoſed to have been 17,000, the negroes 166,000, and the value of exports at 1,400,000l. Sterling.

In all parts of Jamaica cultivation was now making a rapid progreſs; and in 1787, the ſum total of exports was allowed by the inſpector-general to amount to 2,000,000l. Sterling.

Early in the following year, the unnatural war between the mother country and America broke out; and the guiltleſs inhabitants of the iſland felt its baneful effects to a terrible degree. Above all their other calamities, five hurricanes, which came in the ſpace of ſeven years, contributed to ſpread the general deſtruction. It muſt be acknowledged, however, with gratitude, that ſince the period of the laſt hurricane in 1786, the ſeaſons and crops have been exceedingly bountiful.

In computing the value of the iſland, we may eſtimate the value of the ſlaves at 50l. Sterling each; in all 12,500,000l. The landed and perſonal property, at 25,000,000l. The houſes and property in the towns, and the ſhipping, at 1,500,000l. more; ſo that the whole amount of the iſland may be fairly ſtated at 39,000,000 of Britiſh money.

BOOK III.

ENGLISH CHARAIBEE ISLANDS.

CHAPTER V.

BARBADOES.

First Arrival of the Engliſh on this Iſland—Origin, Progreſs, and Termination of the Proprietary Government—Revenue granted to the Crown—Origin of the Act of Navigation—Situation and Extent of the Iſland—Soil and Produce—Population—Its Decline—Exports and Imports.

PREVIOUS to the year 1600, it does not appear that Barbadoes was at all obſerved in geography. The Charaibes, for reaſons which we cannot underſtand, had abandoned it; and the Portugueſe, who diſcovered it probably on ſome voyage to South America, beſtowed no more care upon it than to ſtock it with ſwine.

The crew of the Olive Bloſſom (a ſhip fitted out from London, by Sir Olive Leigh) were the firſt Engliſh who ever landed on Barbadoes. They made, however, but a ſhort ſtay, and proceeded

on their voyage, ſtored with the proviſions they had found on the iſland.

A ſhip of Sir William Courteen's afterwards was driven upon it by ſtreſs of weather; and the report which they made of it in England induced the treaſurer, Earl Marlborough, to obtain a crown patent for poſſeſſing it. Under the patronage of Marlborough, Courteen engaged about thirty adventurers who agreed to make a ſettlement on the place. Furniſhed with proviſions, tools, and every thing requiſite for a new colony, they ſet ſail from England; and landing on Barbadoes late in the year 1624, founded the city of James Town, in honour of the reigning ſovereign.

Among the numerous perſons of rank who about this period engaged with ardour in the buſineſs of colonizing the New World, the moſt diſtinguiſhed was James Earl of Carliſle. In the reign of Charles I. this nobleman had obtained from the Crown a grant of all the Charaibee Iſlands; Barbadoes being included in the number. The grant was no ſooner iſſued out, than it occaſioned a diſpute between Marlborough (undoubtedly the legal poſſeſſor) and the new patentee Carliſle. Their conteſt ended in this agreement, that Carliſle ſhould pay 300l. per annum to Marlborough, and that the other ſhould abandon his claim.

Marlborough, on patching up this treaty with his rival in poſſeſſion, immediately deſerted his friend Courteen, who was now expoſed to the injuſtice of Carliſle. It was in vain that in Carliſle's abſence

from the kingdom, the Earl of Pembroke embarked in his intereſts, and procured for Courteen, as his ſecond in title, a grant of Barbadoes by patent. The inconſtant monarch, upon Carliſle's return, could not reſiſt the requeſt of his favourite, recalled the laſt patent, and reſtored the former. Carliſle thus poſſeſſed of the iſland, ſold it in parcels; and ſending out Charles Woolferſtone as manager, and Sir William Tufton as governor of the new colony, obliged Courteen and his friends to ſubmit to his authority.

But the conduct of Tufton diſpleaſing Lord Carliſle, a governor of the name of Hawley was ſent out to diſplace him. His firſt exertion of power was to condemn Tufton his predeceſſor to be ſhot, upon pretence that the remonſtrances he made to the appointment of a new governor were acts of diſobedience and mutiny. The indecent hurry and ſhocking injuſtice of his execution, excited the indignation of every perſon in the iſland. But the people were indignant to no purpoſe; Hawley, with all his crimes on his head, was protected at the court of England, and ſent back with renovated authority to the government of the iſland. Here he remained odious to the inhabitants, till at laſt he was unable to reſiſt the public indignation; and, after a diſgraceful reign, was driven from the country. Several governors ſucceeded him, who ſeem to have ſtudied with ſome attention the introduction of juſt and wholeſome laws; but the impreſſions of diſguſt

at the proprietor ſtill continued ſo ſtrong, that his authority grew gradually weaker.

The civil war at home now broke out, and numberleſs emigrants crowded to Barbadoes. Such was the wonderful increaſe in the ſpace of twenty years, that in 1680, 10,000 white men, and a regiment of cavalry, could turn out in defence of the iſland.

The new adventurers did not uſe the ceremony of purchaſing their grounds, but planted wherever they thought proper; ſo that the proprietor's authority, and title to payments, was at laſt tacitly deſerted. In 1646, when their proſperity began to attract public admiration, the ſon of the patentee put in his claims. He was ſupported by the Earl of Willoughby, who ſtipulated for one half of the profits, and a leaſe of the iſland for 21 years. He ſtrengthened this bargain by obtaining the government of the place. He was graciouſly received by the inhabitants, and would have probably ſucceeded in levying the general tribute, at one time granted by the planters; but nine years before his leaſe was expired, Cromwell's uſurpation had taken place, and he was of conſequence diſmiſſed from his authority.

At the Reſtoration he applied for a renewal of his authority, and the Earl of Marlborough being dead, the Earl of Kinnoul, his ſucceſſor, made a joint application for his ſhare of the profits. The inhabitants by this time perceiving that the intention of theſe claimants at home was only to prey upon the wealth of Barbadoes, remonſtrated with great freedom upon the hardſhip they were likely to ſuffer,

in being burdened with payments to thoſe men who had been expoſed to no expence in colonizing their iſland.

While the matter was diſcuſſed in the privy council, ſome gentlemen of Barbadoes, who had been delegated by the planters there to plead with his Majeſty in their behalf, offered to compromiſe the matter, by paying an annual rent to the king. Charles was *graciouſly* pleaſed to graſp at the propoſal; but the Barbadians, on underſtanding the offer which had been made, diſclaimed all willingneſs to pay ſuch a tax, and denied that their repreſentatives had any right to propoſe it.

This occaſioned a new difficulty in deciding the conteſt. At laſt a determination was made, equally oppreſſive and unjuſt to the inhabitants of Barbadoes. Lord Willoughby was ordered immediately to aſſume the government of the iſland; and it was paſſed into a law, that an eternal revenue of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. ſhould be exacted in ſpecie from all dead commodities, the growth of the iſland, ſhipped into any part of the world.

The whole of this revenue was at laſt to revert to the crown; but in the mean time a proper allowance was to be made to the Earl of Kinnoul, Lord Carliſle's creditors, and Lord Willoughby.

Among the gentlemen of Barbadoes who vehemently oppoſed this unjuſt impoſition, Colonel Farmer took a leading ſhare. But his patriotic endeavours were baffled by the deſpotiſm of the court. He was arreſted on pretence of mutiny, ſent in

chains to England, and kept in tedious confinement. The perſecution of this man overawed the other oppoſers of the law, and the Barbadians were thus compelled to ſubmit to a tax, which is to this day injurious and oppreſſive.

Lord Clarendon, who had been the principal hand in adviſing his Majeſty to this unjuſt meaſure, was indeed afterwards brought to account for it by the Britiſh parliament; but thoſe who ſought the deſtruction of Clarendon had other objects in view than the relief of Barbadoes, ſo that after the criminality of the tax was admitted, its rigour was not modified.

In 1680, Colonel Dutton, on his arrival at Barbadoes, informed the council and aſſembly, that his Majeſty was willing to commute the tax for an equivalent ſum of money. It was therefore propoſed to farm the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. for eleven years, for the annual rent of 6000l. Sterling; but the offer, upon examination, being judged too moderate, the propoſal was rejected, and the tax continued.

But an impoſition ſtill harder than the former was laid upon Barbadoes, by the paſſing of the navigation act. This celebrated law had been made by the parliament after the death of Charles I. partly in revenge for the deteſtation which the Barbadians had expreſſed for the death of their ſovereign, and partly with a view to prevent the Dutch, to whom the Engliſh were at that time very hoſtile, from having any further communication with our Weſt India iſlands.

On the 16th of October 1651, Ayſcue, who commanded the Parliament's forces, arrived at Barbadoes. He ſpeedily reduced the whole iſland, and obliged them to ſubmit, among other articles, to this enactment of the Commonwealth, viz. that no foreign ſhip ſhould trade with the Engliſh plantations, and that no goods ſhould be imported into England or its dependencies in any but Engliſh veſſels, or in ſhips of that European nation of which the merchandiſe imported was the produce. Thus aroſe the famous navigation act, which, as it had been evidently inflicted upon the colonies in the way of a puniſhment, the Barbadians were not a little ſurpriſed to ſee continued under the reign of Charles II. a monarch to whom they had been attached ſo much, to their own detriment. Whether this ingratitude on the part of Charles was productive or not of bad conſequences to the population and happineſs of the place, will be ſeen hereafter.

Barbadoes lies 13° 10′ north latitude, and in 59° weſt longitude from London. On the ſouth it is fronted by the mouth of the Oroonoko, on the weſt by St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's, and on the north and eaſt it is bounded by the Atlantic. The iſland has different ſorts of moulds, but the black is the moſt favourable. By the aid of manure it yields ſugar only inferior to that of St. Kitts.

As far back as the year 1670, we are informed that Barbadoes poſſeſſed 50,000 white, and twice

as many black inhabitants; and that it gave employment to 60,000 tons of ſhipping *.

Even allowing that this ſtatement may have been ſomewhat exaggerated, there is ſufficient evidence that the inhabitants have rapidly declined. In 1786, the numbers were no more than 16,000 whites, 800 people of colour, and 62,000 negroes.

The produce of ſugar has kept pace with the decline of population. We are informed, that in 1761, the average crop of ſugar was 25,000 hogſheads. On an average calculation from 1784 to 1786, the exports of ſugar did not exceed 9554.

The hurricanes, it muſt be confeſſed, which have been ſo fatal and frequent within theſe laſt twelve years, have contributed their ſhare to the decline both of commerce and of population. The ſtorm which took place on the 10th of October 1780, in particular, ſwept away no leſs than 4326 of its inhabitants.

* The earlieſt planters of Barbadoes were accuſed of decoying away the Americans of the neighbouring continent into ſlavery. The Spectator has handed down, to the execration of poſterity, the hiſtory of Yarico's being ſold to ſlavery by the ungrateful Inkle. It may not be diſagreeable to the reader, who has ſympathized with poor Yarico, to hear that ſhe bore her hard uſage with a better grace than might have been expected. Ligon relates, that ſhe chanced afterwards to be got with child by a Chriſtian ſervant, and "being very great, walked down to a woode, where there was a "ponde of water, and there by the ſide of the ponde brought her-"ſelf to bedde, and in three hours came home with a child in her "arms, a luſty boy, frolic and lively." Incle's behaviour, however, will admit of no palliation.

Neither has the amelioration of the ſeaſons occaſioned that return of proſperity which might have been expected. The calamity of the iſland cannot be expected to ceaſe, till it be relieved of that oppreſſive and enormous burden, which the ingratitude of Charles II. ſuffered to be impoſed.

Barbadoes contains five diſtricts and eleven pariſhes. The capital of the iſland is Bridge Town, which is ſtill the chief reſidence of the governor. The governor's ſalary is 2000l. per annum, paid out of the exchequer from the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty. There is little variation between the civil government of Jamaica and that of Barbadoes, except that the court of chancery in the latter is compoſed of the governor and council, whereas, in the former, the governor is chancellor alone. In Barbadoes he always ſits in the council, even when acting legiſlatively; in Jamaica, never. The courts of grand ſeſſions, common pleas, and exchequer, are diſtinct in Jamaica, but united into one in Barbadoes.

The reader may form ſome idea of the commerce carried on by Barbadoes, from the following ſtatement. Between the 5th of January 1787, till the 5th of January 1788, there cleared from Barbadoes,

Veſſels - - - - -	343
Number of tons - - -	26,917
Men - - - -	1942
Value of cargoes (Sterling) -	L. 539,605

CHAPTER II.

GRENADA AND ITS DEPENDENCIES.

Diſcovery and Inhabitants—French Invaſion in 1650—Extermination of the Natives—The Iſland conveyed to the Count de Cerilla —Miſconduct of the Deputy Governor—The Colony reverts to the Crown of France—Captured by the Engliſh—Claim of the Crown to lay a Duty of 4½ per cent. on Produce Exported—Deciſion of the Court of King's Bench on this point —Tranſactions within the Colony—Internal Diſſenſions—French Invaſion 1779—Brave Defence, and unconditional Surrender of the Garriſon—Hardſhips exerciſed towards the Engliſh Planters —Reſtored to Britain by the Peace—Preſent State of the Colony.

CHRISTOPHER Columbus, in his third voyage, diſcovered this iſland *. Its inhabitants were a numerous and warlike people; but it does not appear that Europeans looked upon them as a proper object of invaſion, until Monſieur de Parquet, the French governor of Martinico, in 1650, planned an avaricious and unprovoked attack upon the iſland.

The want of territory could not be pleaded as an apology for this invaſion; for the fertile iſlands of Martinico and Guadaloupe were ſtill, in a great meaſure, uncultivated: nevertheleſs, the French commander collected about 200 deſperate adventurers to his ſtandard, and ſet ſail for the iſland of Grena-

* Anno 1498.

da. The ſoldiers, previous to their embarkation, all partook of the ſacrament, and, upon their landing, prayed fervently to God for ſucceſs.

The Frenchman, contrary perhaps to his wiſhes, was received with hoſpitality by the natives; ſo that, being obliged to affect juſtice in his dealings, he pretended to make a purchaſe of the iſland, by preſenting ſome knives, hatchets, and beads to the people, and regaling the chief with *two bottles of brandy*. He proceeded next to build a fort in order to ſecure his honeſt purchaſe, and left his kinſman Le Compte as governor in his ſtead. The firſt accounts which we hear of this gentleman's conduct in his government, leaves no very favourable impreſſion of his character. The natives, juſtly regarding the bargain as an inſulting pretence to rob them of their native country, had reſiſted their invaders, and Le Compte could think of no better expedient to ſecure the ſettlement, than the total extermination of the Charaibes. His followers obeyed his orders with alacrity, and ſtill farther, to accelerate the buſineſs of death, 300 men were diſpatched from Martinique to to their aſſiſtance.

In one of thoſe mercileſs expeditions, the hiſtorian informs us that forty Charaibes were butchered on the ſpot, and forty others, running to a precipice, threw themſelves headlong into the ſea *. A beautiful young woman was taken alive, and two French

* The ſpot from whence theſe miſerable Charaibes threw themſelves into the ſea, is to this day called by the French *Le Morne de Sauteurs*, i. e. Leapers Hill.

officers diſputed about poſſeſſing her; but a third coming up, decided the quarrel by ſhooting her through the head. The French loſt only one man, and, after burning the cottages, and rooting up the proviſions, came back in high ſpirits.

After extirpating the natives, the French proceeded next to butcher each other. After a long conteſt, which it is needleſs to detail, the governor's party gained the advantage; but De Parquet's fortune being much injured by the ſtruggle, he agreed to ſell his poſſeſſion of the iſland to the Count Cerillac for 30,000 crowns.

Cerillac, injudiciouſly nominated to the government of the place, a proud and rapacious commander, whoſe tyranny at laſt driving the inhabitants to deſpair, he was tried for his crimes, and in conſideration of his noble birth, was ſhot in place of being hanged.

From Cerillac the property of the iſland paſſed to the French Weſt India Company, who, in 1674, ſurrendered it to the Crown. This change of poſſeſſors was leſs favourable to the iſland than might have been expected; for we find that, even as late as the beginning of this century, the iſland contained no more than three plantations of ſugar, and two of indigo, cultivated by 251 whites, and 521 negroes. Their unfortunate ſituation might have continued for a long time, had not the inhabitants, in order to ſupply their diſadvantages in the want of commerce and ſlaves, entered into an illicit intercourſe with the Dutch; a reſource which operated ſo powerfully

in their favour, that in 1762, when the Engliſh became poſſeſſors of the iſland, they found its annual produce to be no leſs than 11,000 hogſheads of ſugar, and 24,000 pounds of indigo.

The ſtipulations in favour of the inhabitants at the ſurrender of Grenada to the Britiſh, were as follows: Their privileges and taxes were to be on a footing with thoſe of the other Leeward Iſlands; and further, with reſpect to religion, they were to be upon a footing with the Roman Catholics of Canada.

In 1763, his Majeſty iſſued a proclamation, declaring, that all inhabitants of this iſland ſhould enjoy the benefit of the laws of England, and of appeal to the King and Council. It alſo declares, that expreſs orders had been given to the governor, to form, in co-operation with the council and houſe of repreſentatives, a ſyſtem of laws as agreeable as poſſible to the ſpirit of the Engliſh ſyſtem.

General Melville was the firſt governor appointed. The aſſembly met for the firſt time in 1765, and a queſtion of the greateſt moment was ſubmitted to their conſideration.

The reader has been informed upon what pretence the unwarrantable duty of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. had been laid upon the Iſland of Barbadoes. Unjuſt as theſe pretences were, ſtill more deſpotic was the right which the royal prerogative aſſumed, when, without even the apparent conſent of the people, a duty of the ſame nature and amount was laid upon Grenada.

That Grenada was a conquered country, was the

main apology offered for the meaſure. It was urged in addition to this humane argument, that it would be as impolitic to put Grenada in a better ſituation than our other Leeward Iſlands of the Weſt Indies, as it would be to put her in a worſe. If Grenada paid more taxes, it would be injurious to her; if ſhe paid leſs, the inequality would be baneful to the others.

The caſe was ſubmitted to the Court of King's Bench, and, after four elaborate pleadings, judgment was pronounced by Lord Mansfield, to the honour of his integrity, againſt the Crown.

It is pleaſing to contemplate this victory of the coloniſts, becauſe it diſplays the uncorrupted and undiſtinguiſhing uprightneſs of that court before which the queſtion was tried; but our ſatisfaction is ſomewhat abated, when we conſider the grounds upon which Lord Mansfield went, when he gave this impartial deciſion.

The noble Lord reſted his determination ſolely upon this argument, that the King's proclamation, by which it was declared to the inhabitants that they were entitled to chooſe their repreſentatives, and be governed by the laws of their own aſſembly, was iſſued out previous to the mandate for collecting the controverted revenue. Had not his Majeſty given this prior declaration, Lord Mansfield aſſerted, that by the rights of conqueſt he was entitled to impoſe upon the inhabitants whatever regulations or taxes he thought fit. He then adduced, as illuſtrations of this poſition, the ſeveral caſes of Wales, Ire-

land, Berwick, and New York; in all which caſes he endeavours to ſubſtantiate his argument, "that they received their laws from England, as laws impoſed upon a conquered country, and not as regulations of their own adopting.

Admitting *, for the ſake of argument, that Britain had *conſtitutionally* a right to impoſe laws and taxes of her own fabrication upon a conquered country, which, by the way, is far from being ſelf-evident, it cannot be her right to do ſo from the dictates of juſtice. If uſage be an honourable pretext for an act which reaſon condemns, Grenada, and the other colonies, have no right to any conſtitution but what the royal authority impoſes: but if juſtice and truth be independent of cuſtom, and immutable in themſelves; if it be the duty of men to beſtow on their fellow-men the ſame privileges which they aſſume to themſelves; this

* Mr. Edwards here enters into a minute diſcuſſion upon the inſtances of Ireland, Wales, &c. in which he combats, with great ability, this opinion of the Lord Chief Juſtice, and ſhows, pretty clearly, that, even upon the ground of uſage, Grenada, as a colony of Great Britain, had a title to impoſe taxes upon herſelf, and that the King of Great Britain, even upon a conquered country, can impoſe no conſtitution but that of England. It is a pity, however, that the queſtion ſhould be put to a trial of this kind. Suppoſing it to be the fact, that the Kings of England at one period impoſed arbitrary laws upon conquered countries, what has that to do with Grenada? Is not ſelf-taxation the right of every people? We certainly acknowledge that it is by the ſtructure of our own conſtitution, and ought Britons to deny to fellow-ſubjects what they would not part with themſelves?

colony has a right to annul every revenue but what her own repreſentatives dictate, and the tax aforementioned is moſt unwarrantable injuſtice.

The firſt aſſembly, as was juſt now mentioned, met in the year 1765. At this time their attention was ſolely engroſſed by the queſtion of ſelf-taxation already detailed, but a diſpute of a different nature was now preparing to break out.

In 1768 orders were iſſued out by the Crown that the Roman Catholic capitulants ſhould be eligible into the legiſlative aſſembly and the governor's council, as alſo that they ſhould be capable of acting as juſtices of the peace. This mandate of his Majeſty's occaſioned a very ſerious agitation in the iſland. The Proteſtant party declaimed upon the palpable infringement of the teſt act, to which the Catholics rejoined, that the teſt act was only applicable to England and Berwick upon Tweed. Miniſters, however, continued unſhaken in their determination to maintain the privileges of the Catholics, ſo that the zealous part of the Proteſtant repreſentatives finding it impoſſible to acquire a triumph over thoſe of the oppoſite creed, retired from the houſe in a fit of illiberal diſguſt, meanly conceiving that the ſole good they could perform to the public was the ſuppreſſion of every opinion but their own.

Their apoſtacy was productive of the moſt injurious conſequences. At no period was there a ſufficient body to be collected when the public exigency required. At laſt the French, underſtanding

the perplexed ſituation of the iſland, formed, and ſucceſsfully conducted, a plan for its recapture.

Twenty-five ſhips of the line, 10 frigates, and 5000 troops, arrived, on the 2d of July, in the harbour of St. George. Eſtaing, the commander, next day attacked, with 3000 men, the ſmall body of troops which defended the Hoſpital Hill, conſiſting of the 48th regiment, 300 militia, and 150 ſeamen. The French at laſt ſucceeded in carrying the poſt, but loſt 300 men in the conflict. Lord M'Cartney, then governor of Grenada, retiring with his brave followers, took poſſeſſion of the old fort at the foot of the harbour. It was in vain, however, to reſiſt ſuch ſuperior force. The guns taken from his own party at the Hoſpital were turned upon the fort, and he was reduced to the ſad neceſſity of unconditional ſurrender. To the honour of the French it ſhould be told, that the town, though liable to be plundered by the practice of war, was protected from outrage, and ſafeguards granted to all who applied.

But the ſubſequent behaviour of the French was not quite ſo generous. The new governor gave ſtrict orders that no debtor ſhould preſume to diſcharge his debts to a Briton, or even thoſe debts for which a Briton was ſecurity, under a ſevere penalty. Thoſe eſtates, alſo, which were poſſeſſed by Engliſh abſentees were poſſeſſed in the interim by a tribe of devourers, called Conſervators, whoſe oſtenſible duty was to preſerve, but whoſe real practice was to plunder, the property conſigned to

their protection. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that report of this injuſtice was no ſooner made in France than it was condemned by adminiſtration, and the whole crew of conſervators diſcharged.

The peace of 1783 reſtored Grenada, along with other of her iſlands which the French had captured, Great Britain. Every friend to humanity muſt ſubſcribe to my wiſh, that thoſe unhappy diſputes which made it ſuch an eaſy prey to the arms of France, may never, at any future period, be revived.

We ſhall conclude the hiſtory of this iſland with a ſhort account of its population, agriculture, and trade: to which it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that, ſince the peace of 1783, a line of diſtinction has been drawn from eaſt to weſt between Cariacou and Union Iſland, the latter iſland and all its appendages being now attached to the government of St. Vincent.

Out of 80,000 acres of land not above 50,000 have ever been cultivated. The country is watered with ſprings, and various in its ſurface, although no parts of it are ſo impracticable as the high lands of Jamaica. There is a vaſt variety of ſoil; but in general the ground is fertile, and its productions are almoſt numberleſs. The exports of this iſland and its minor iſlets, in 1776, were no leſs valuable than 600,000l. Sterling, which, conſidering it to be the produce of 18,000 negroes, was altogether ſurpriſing.

It contains ſix pariſhes, and its dependent iſland Cariacou forms a ſeventh. Since its being ceded to Britain, the Proteſtant has been made the eſtabliſhed religion. There are, accordingly, five eſtabliſhed clergymen, whoſe ſtipends are each 360l. currency, and 60l. for a houſe. The church lands belonging to the Roman Catholic clergy were, by conſent of the Crown, applied, partly to the better ſupport of the Proteſtant clergy, and partly diſtributed among the Romiſh diſſenting prieſts.

The capital of the iſland is St. George, the capital under its French poſſeſſors was Fort Royale. The remaining towns are only petty villages ſituated upon their harbours along the coaſts.

From whatever cauſe it has originated, the population of the white inhabitants in Grenada has ſenſibly decreaſed of late years; at preſent they do not exceed 1000; in 1771, their number was known to be ſomewhat above 1600.

Previous to the capture of the iſland in 1779, the black population amounted to 35,000; in 1785, they amounted to 23,926.

But though the blacks and whites have been declining in numbers, the ſame cannot be aſſerted of the people of colour. In 1787, the number of this mongrel breed was upwards of 1100. Attempts have indeed been made to prevent or diminiſh this mixture of blood, by impoſing fines upon manumiſſion; but the law is evaded by reſorting to another place.

The governor here, as in Jamaica, is ſole chan-

cellor. His ſalary is 3200l. per annum of Grenada currency.

Their legiſlative aſſembly is compoſed of 26 members; their council of 12. A freehold of 50 acres gives a right to ſit as the repreſentative of any of the pariſhes, and a rent of ten pounds in fee, or for life, qualifies a voter.

Their courts are of different kinds. They have a court of grand ſeſſions, of common pleas, of exchequer, of admiralty, and laſtly, a court compoſed by the governor and council for deciding upon all appeals from the court of common pleas.

In all caſes not anticipated by the laws of the iſland, the common and the ſtatute law of England are made the ſtandard of deciſion. The practice of Weſtminſter Hall is reſorted to when difficulties occur. It is but juſtice to ſay, that the deciſions of their aſſembly are at all times impartial in an eminent degree.

All that remains is to take notice of the dependent iſlands or Grenadines, the principal of which are Cariacou and Iſle Ronde. Cariacou, beſides maintaining its labourers, yields annually a million of pounds of cotton. Iſle Ronde is of much ſmaller extent, and entirely devoted to paſturage and rearing of cotton.

In eſtimating the commerce of Grenada, the reader may form a tolerable conception of its extent from the following ſtatement:

In January 1787 there cleared from Grenada 118 ſhips, containing in all 25,764 tons burden, wrought by 1826 men, and valued in all at 614,908l. Sterling.

CHAPTER III.

ST. VINCENT'S AND ITS DEPENDENTS, AND DOMINICA.

In the patent which the Earl of Carliſle obtained from Charles the Second to colonize the Weſt India iſlands (a circumſtance before taken notice of), were included the two iſlands of St. Vincent's and Dominica. The Engliſh, even as early as that period, made ſeveral attempts to get the natives into ſubjection by enſnaring practices; but the French being equally aſſiduous in purſuing the ſame object, they were at laſt obliged to give up all thoughts of becoming maſters of the iſland. At the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, theſe two iſlands, with ſome others, were therefore declared in a ſtate of ſubjection to neither kingdoms. No ſooner had this mutual agreement been entered into, than both parties appeared diſſatisfied with the compromiſe. We find accordingly that a very different agreement was made at the end of the war which ſucceeded that treaty. Neither party ſeemed to remember that the Charaibes had a right to the dominions which they ſo unjuſtly aſſumed, but fairly determined that, in conſideration of France poſſeſſing the iſland of St. Lucia, Tobago, St. Vincent's, and Dominica ſhould be given up to the Engliſh. It muſt be confeſſed, indeed, that by this time the ancient poſſeſſors of the iſland (that is, the yellow Charaibes) had been reduced to a miſerable remnant, not more than 100 families ſurviving in 1763.

SECTION I.

ST. VINCENT'S.

ST. VINCENT'S was ſo called by the Spaniards, from the ſaint's name on whoſe day it was firſt diſcovered. It does not appear that the Spaniards ever reduced them to ſubjection; but another people whom they at firſt received on their ſhores, probably from compaſſion, accompliſhed in time that conqueſt which no European nation could obtain.

Some time towards the end of the laſt century, a Guinea ſhip, with a large cargo of ſlaves, was wrecked on this iſland. The negroes eſcaping to the mountains, were ſuffered to remain by the natives, and in time grew ſo numerous, by means of marriage with the Indians and acceſſions from the runaway ſlaves of Barbadoes, that, commencing hoſtilities on the natives, they reduced their numbers very rapidly, and drove them to the north-weſt corner of the iſland. They acquired in time the appellation of the black Charaibes, in contradiſtinction to the aborigines, who were of a lighter complexion.

The unfortunate Indians complained of their hardſhips alternately to the Engliſh and French. At length the latter were perſuaded to embrace their cauſe; and landing on the iſland in 1719, began to ravage the plantations of the negroes. Theſe, though unable in open fight to reſiſt their

invaders, became ſufficiently terrible, when they ſallied out at midnight from their retreats among the mountains. They obliged the French to deſiſt from all thoughts of obtaining conqueſt by violence; ſo that, by mutual conſent, a peace was agreed upon: the articles of which compromiſed, that the iſland ſhould remain under the protection, but not the dominion, of France.

In the year 1723, an attempt was made by the Britiſh to obtain poſſeſſion of the iſland, by the moſt frivolous proceedings that could be imagined. The Duke of Montague had obtained a grant for poſſeſſing St. Lucia, and St. Vincent's; but the Britiſh force which took poſſeſſion of the former, were driven out by the French; ſo that they turned all their attention towards occupying the latter. Accordingly Captain Braithwaite was diſpatched thither, to try what effect perſuaſive meaſures might have in reducing the natives to the Britiſh yoke. Coming to anchor on the iſland, Braithwaite beheld the ſtrand all covered with crowds of Indians, among whom was one white, who turned out to be a Frenchman. He went, however, aſhore in company with one of his countrymen, and a Frenchman; but was not a little ſurpriſed, on getting among them, to find them armed with cutlaſſes and fire-arms, and drawn round him in a circle, to take him priſoner. They immediately proceeded to carry him up the country; and brought him at laſt to their general, who ſat in great ſtate, environed with his guards. The captain was then interrogated, From whence he came, and for

what purpoſe? He replied, That he was an Engliſhman, and that he put into the coaſt for wood and water. The general told him, That he had been informed his viſit was meant for a different purpoſe; namely, the ſubjugation of the iſland; and inſiſted upon his immediately retiring from their ſhores. Captain Braithwaite then returned to the ſhip without moleſtation. As ſoon as he got on board, he ſent aſhore the ſhip's boat, with rum, bread, and beef; and ſent a meſſenger to the general, to inform him, that though he denied to ſtrangers the common privilege of water and wood, yet, that he had ſent him a part of what his ſhip's ſtores afforded. He received in return a polite reply from the general, by two meſſengers, who offered to ſtay in the ſhip as hoſtages, provided he wiſhed to go again on ſhore. Returning, therefore, to the general, Captain Braithwaite received a more gracious reception than before; and ſo far ingratiated himſelf with the negro chief, as to perſuade him, along with ſome others, to pay a viſit to the veſſel. After opening their hearts with abundance of wine, the Engliſh were at laſt ſo candid as to tell them the real object of their embaſſy. The negroes replied, That had ſuch a confeſſion been made on ſhore, all their authority over their countrymen could not have prevented them from becoming ſacrifices to the general indignation. They declared, That their country, though protected by France, was not ſubject to her power; nor indeed would they ever ſubmit to be the ſlaves of any European nation. Braith-

waite, therefore, finding that all further intrigue would be fruitleſs, diſmiſſed the negroes with preſents, and returned to Martinico.

After this period, for the ſpace of 40 years, nothing worthy of detail took place in the iſland, except the inceſſant hoſtilities between the black and the yellow Charaibes. It may be eaſily gueſſed, from the diminiſhed numbers of the latter, on which ſide the victory lay during theſe conteſts. It is remarkable, however, that this victorious people (viz. the Charaibes) ſhould have borrowed from the vanquiſhed a national and extraordinary cuſtom; namely, flattening the foreheads, ſo as to augment the thickneſs of the ſkull.

The peace of Paris gave up St. Vincent's to the Britiſh. It was accordingly divided, and ſold to different proprietors in lots. It muſt be obſerved, however, very little to the credit of the Britiſh government, that the extent of theſe ſales was not limited by the lands inhabited by the Charaibes; but comprehended the whole iſland, from one end to the other. It is not wonderful that the Charaibes, indignant at ſeeing their country parcelled out by thoſe who had no title to the poſſeſſion of it, ſhould have taken up arms againſt ſuch uſurpers. Hoſtilities were ſeverely retaliated by the Britiſh, for it was the object of miniſtry to extirpate the natives; but the remonſtrances of the military employed in the iſland, obliged them to abandon the ſcheme.

During the American war, St. Vincent's was expoſed in a ſtate ſo defenceleſs, that it was ſubjected

to the arms of France by no more than 650 men. Perhaps the juncture which the black Charaibes formed with the French immediately on their landing, made the conqueſt ſtill eaſier. At the peace of 1783 it again reverted to the Britiſh.

Out of 84,000 acres of well watered, although in general mountainous and rugged land, which St. Vincent's contains, about 46,000 are at preſent cultivated; one half of which is poſſeſſed by the Britiſh, and the other by the Charaibes.

In the Britiſh territory there are five pariſhes. There is only one conſiderable town in the iſland; namely, Kingſton, the capital. The others are no more than deſpicable villages.

The ſyſtem of civil government, in all reſpects, aſſimilates to Grenada. The governor's ſalary is 2000l. per annum.

By the laſt eſtimate which was made, the white inhabitants amounted to 1400, the blacks to 11,850. In this latter number, however, we muſt include the negroes of the ſmaller dependent iſlands; ſuch as Bequia, Muſtique, and Union, which contribute a conſiderable ſhare to the general eſtimate. The reader may form a tolerable notion of the trade which ſubſiſts between St. Vincent's and Great Britain, by the following ſtatement. In the year 1787 there ſailed from St. Vincent's and its appendages, 122 veſſels, manned in all by 969 men, whoſe cargoes were valued at 186,450l. 14s. 8d. Sterling.

SECTION II.

DOMINICA.

This iſland was ſo called from being diſcovered on a Sabbath day. Little notice was taken of it before its falling into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh in 1759.

Previous to this time, it had been ſettled upon by a number of French planters, who, upon taking the oath of allegiance to the Engliſh government, and paying a ſmall quit-rent, were all confirmed in their property. The remaining land, when ſold in ſeparate lots, brought the ſum of 312,092 l. 11s. 1d. Sterling.

To this day, however, the French inhabitants conſtitute the more numerous people in the iſland. Theſe receive their manners and religion principally from Martinique, on which this iſland is looked upon as an appendage.

Dominica was riſing into affluence and conſideration at the eve of the American war: She maintained a traffic with America, with the other Weſt India iſlands, with France, and with Spain. But unfortunately the conteſt between the mother country and her coloniſts blaſted the growing expectations of the iſland. Such was the ſhameful inattention to this once flouriſhing iſland, that, during the hotteſt of the war, no greater military appointment was allowed to Dominica than ſix officers and 100 men.

This careleſſneſs on the part of Britain undoubtedly attracted the attention of France. It was ſuſpected alſo (I know not if from ſufficient authority) that ſome French inhabitants attached to their former maſters, invited an invaſion of the French from Martinique. On the ſeventh of September 1778, a a French veſſel of 40 guns, three frigates, and about 30 ſail of ſchooners and ſloops, having on board above 2000 regular troops, beſides a banditti of volunteers, appeared off the iſland, commanded by General Bouille. By the treachery of ſome of the inhabitants Fort Caſhacrou was reduced to their poſſeſſion. They then proceeded towards the town, which was but feebly defended by its ill provided batteries; and to accelerate the progreſs of the invaſion, the French inhabitants kept aloof from action. But the ſmall remaining body made a gallant defence; and, although their bravery was not ſufficient to repel their invaders, it procured them very honourable terms of capitulation. They were permitted to march out with military honours, and to retain their religion, government, laws, and poſſeſſions.

De Bouille, after his conqueſt, returned to Martinique, leaving the iſland under the command of the Marquis of Duchilleau, whoſe conduct during four years was inſolent and tyrannical.

He diſarmed the Engliſh inhabitants, and forbade them, under the penalty of being ſhot, to aſſemble more than two in a place. He prohibited them from walking the ſtreets, after a certain hour, with-

out a candle, and rewarded, with promotion, a centinel who ſhot an Engliſh gentleman attempting to go on board his own veſſel in the harbour. Every private letter, before delivery, was ſubmitted to his inſpection; and he frequently deſcended to the meanneſs of going himſelf in diſguiſe to liſten, unobſerved, to private domeſtic converſations.

By his ſecret orders the town of Roſeau was ſet on fire. Inſtead of relieving or aſſiſting the ſufferers (as common humanity would have dictated), he preſided on the occaſion to ſee that no aſſiſtance ſhould be given to the Engliſh houſes that were on fire, but gave permiſſion to the ſoldiers to load themſelves with the pillage. On this melancholy diſaſter the ſufferers were computed to have loſt 200,000l. Sterling.

The proſperity of Dominica vaniſhed with her liberty. During five years its commerce was annihilated. All connection with France was given up, ſo that their commodities were either ſent to England, and ſold at a low rate, through the medium of Dutch neutral ſhips, or elſe conveyed by imperial veſſels to Oſtend, and there vended at a rate ſtill lower. The deſtruction of commerce proved in a ſhort time the ruin of the planters, numbers of whom abandoned their property in deſpair. At length, after groaning five years under the government of tyrants, the happy day arrived, when, to the indeſcribable joy of the inhabitants, their privileges, their property, their hopes of proſperity,

were reſtored by the return of the Britiſh government *.

Dominica contains 186,436 ſquare acres of land, and is divided into ten pariſhes. Its capital is Roſeau, a town of an irregular figure, about half a mile in length, and two furlongs in breadth. The ſurface of the iſland is very various, ſometimes ſwelling into bold irregular hills, and ſometimes ſpreading into wide fertile and beautiful valleys. The higher grounds ſtill retain volcanos, and hot ſprings of ſalubrious quality.

The iſland is watered by thirty beautiful rivers. The ſoil is of various kinds. That of a black colour moſtly adjoining the ſhore is in general of the richeſt quality. Of fertile land, however, there cannot be ſaid to be any conſiderable portion in Dominica. It contains 50 plantations; and theſe, at an average of one year with another, hardly produce above 3000 hogſheads of ſugar.

It muſt be allowed, however, that coffee is here a more productive crop.

The number of white inhabitants of all, by returns in 1788, were 1236, free negroes 445, ſlaves 14,967, and about 30 families of the native Charaibes. Theſe are a quiet inoffenſive people, that live principally by fiſhing and fowling. They are ama-

* The civil government, reinſtated by the Britiſh, was like that of the other iſlands. Their legiſlature was veſted in an aſſembly of nineteen, a council of twelve, and a governor, whoſe ſalary is twelve hundred a-year.

zingly dexterous at managing the bow, and diſplay much ingenuity in weaving baſkets and panniers of ſtraw and the barks of trees.

In the year 1787 there ſailed from Dominica 162 veſſels, wrought by 18,146 men, the cargoes amounting to 302,987l. 15s. Sterling.

CHAPTER IV.

Leeward Charaibbean Iſland Government, comprehending St. Chriſtopher's, Nevis, Antigua, Montſerrat, and the Virgin Iſlands—Hiſtory and Deſcription of each—Exports—Profits of the $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. duty—Concluſion of the Hiſtory.

Since the year 1672 theſe ſeveral iſlands have conſtituted one government, and are ſubject to the authority of one who is called Captain General of the Leeward Charaib Iſlands. The reſidence of this governor is at Antigua, although he occaſionally viſits the others. His vicegerent is a lieutenant governor, who reſides at the ſame place. During the abſence of both from the other iſlands, the preſident of the aſſembly takes the executive authority.

SECTION I.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

This iſland, ſo called by the natives from its fertility, was diſcovered by Columbus, and honoured with his name. Though never cultivated by the Spaniards, it is the oldeſt of all the Charaibbean ſettlements, French and Engliſh. Captain Roger North, on a voyage to Surinam, was accompanied by a mariner of the name of Painton, a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, to whoſe ſagacity in demonſtrating the utility of a ſettlement on this iſland in preference to the continent, England was firſt indebted for

the poſſeſſion of St. Chriſtopher's. This intelligent ſeaman communicated his intention to his friend Mr. Warner, who reſolving to put the plan into effect, ſailed with fourteen aſſociates to Virginia, from whence he proceeded to St. Chriſtopher's. He arrived there in the month of January 1623, and in the ſpace of nine months reared an excellent crop of tobacco.

It has been a common miſtake to ſuppoſe that the entry of the French upon this iſland was coeval with the ſettlement of the Engliſh. Deſnambuc, the leader of the firſt French coloniſts who ever landed on St. Chriſtopher's, ſet ſail from France two years after Warner's arrival. The miſtake has undoubtedly originated in this circumſtance, that Warner's colony having been reduced by a hurricane to the neceſſity of returning home, he made his ſecond voyage to St. Chriſtopher's at the ſame time with the French. The truth is, Deſnambuc had been attacked in his paſſage by a Spaniſh galleon, and obliged to make for this iſland in order to repair. He was kindly received by the Engliſh, who, at that time, conſcious of the injuſtice of their behaviour towards the Indians, were glad of an acceſſion to their ſtrength. Fortified by this alliance, they proceeded to the moſt unwarrantable barbarities towards the Charaibes, murdering their warriors, and making ſlaves of their women. Irritated by the wrongs of their countrymen, the natives of other iſlands flocked in numbers to invade them. A bloody battle enſued, in which the Europeans loſt a hundred men

upon the field, but remained victors by the ſuperiority of fire-arms.

The reſpective leaders, Warner and Deſnambuc, ſoon after returned home, in order to fortify their ſettlement with freſh adventurers. The latter, under the patronage of Richelieu, obtained a charter for a company to trade to his colony; but the ſhips fitted out for this object were ſo ill ſtored with neceſſaries, that the greater part of the crews periſhed for want on the voyage. The remainder, on landing at St. Chriſtopher's, formed a treaty offenſive and defenſive with the Engliſh inhabitants; but, as we before mentioned, their united forces were unfit to reſiſt the invaſion of the Spaniards. But, indeed, when we reflect on the behaviour of both to the miſerable Charaibes, we can but half regret (though we ſeriouſly condemn) the cruelty of thoſe invaders who maſſacred them in their turn.

The iſland had ſcarcely been reſtored to its uſual population, after being thinned by the ſwords of the Spaniards, than national animoſities began to be kindled up. In the reign of King Charles II. the French inhabitants roſe upon the Engliſh and drove them from the iſland. They were reſtored by the peace of Breda, but again driven away, as before, when James II. had abdicated the throne. Eight months after, the Engliſh returned in greater numbers to retaliate hoſtilities, overpowered the enemy, and tranſported numbers of them to Martinique.

In 1705, a French armament landed on the iſland, and committed barbarous devaſtation on the En-

gliſh property. Parliament, however, humanely recompenſed the ſufferers; and happily this was the laſt diſplay of national reſentment in the iſland. By the peace of Utrecht it was ceded entirely to the Britiſh; and ſuch of the French inhabitants as choſe to ſwear allegiance were naturalized.

Till 1782, St. Chriſtopher's continued in our poſſeſſion. At that period it was captured by the arms of France, but reſtored at the peace in 1783.

St. Chriſtopher's contains about 43,726 acres of land, of which about 21,000 are devoted to paſturage and the rearing of ſugar. The interior of the country is mountainous and barren, although the fertility of the plains makes ample amends for the ſterility of its hills.

The ſoil of St. Chriſtopher's is eſſentially different from that of the other iſlands. It is light and porous, and appears to be a mixture of virgin mould mixed up with ferruginous pumice. In all probability its qualities were occaſioned by ſubterraneous fires. For the production of ſugar it is certainly unequalled. The choice lands of this iſland yield, at an average, 32 cwt. of ſugar per acre annually; and canes planted in particular ſpots have actually yielded the aſtoniſhing quantity of 8000 pounds per acre.

St. Chriſtopher's contains nine pariſhes. Baſſeterre is ſtill the capital of the iſland. Of the ſum allotted to the ſalary of the governor, this iſland contributes 1000l. currency.

The houſe of aſſembly conſiſts of 24 members;

the council of 10. The governor acts as chancellor *ex officio*, and executes his duty alone. It was at one period propoſed to join other gentlemen of the iſland to his office, but the inhabitants rightly objected, that perſons thus elected would be intereſted in the deciſion of every cauſe that preſented.

There is only one court of juriſdiction, of which the chief juſtice is appointed by the King, and holds a ſalary of 600l. a year.

The inhabitants are computed at 4000 whites, 26,000 negro ſlaves, and 300 free blacks and mulattoes. Every white from 16 to 60 muſt enter with the militia, ſo that their number is pretty conſiderable. They have two regiments of whites, beſides a corps of blacks.

In fact, the number of militia, and the peculiar nature of the iſland, was a reaſonable enough excuſe urged by government for refuſing to protect this colony with Britiſh forces. A thouſand effective men, well armed and ſupplied, upon ground ſo unequal, might have eaſily reſiſted all invaders when it was laſt captured.

SECTION II.

NEVIS.

The iſland of Nevis riſes like a ſingle mountain from the ocean, its baſe not exceeding eight leagues. The crater upon the ſummit of the mountain, and the hot ſprings, impregnated with ſulphur, leave us no room to doubt that this ſpot was a volcanic

eruption. The ſummit probably emitted a ſmoke at its firſt diſcovery by Columbus, and hence it was denominated Nieves, or the Snows, by the Spaniards.

From the whole ſurface and appearance of this iſland there can be little doubt entertained that it was produced at ſome remote period by an exploſion of a volcanic nature. The top of the mountain is exactly a hollow or crater, and it contains a hot ſpring of water, which is to a very great degree impregnated with ſulphur.

The iſland is as well watered as it is beautiful. In general the ſoil is exceeding fertile, but in ſome places it is of a dry nature. This, however, is, upon the whole, no material diſadvantage, as in theſe places yams and other vegetables are abundantly produced, which perhaps would not accommodate ſo well to a more fertile, but more watery ſoil.

The Engliſh firſt occupied this iſland in 1628. The number of its white inhabitants is eſtimated at 600 men; the blacks amount to 10,000. This makes it neceſſary for them to maintain as reſpectable a militia as their numbers will admit of. Included in their militia they have a troop of 50 horſe, but no Britiſh troops are ever quartered in the iſland.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Summary Account of the Inhabitants of the ſeveral Iſlands—Claſſes—Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland—Predominant Character of the European Reſidents—Creoles, or Natives—Effect of Climate—Character of the Creole Women and Children—Of the People of Colour, and the different Caſts or Tribes—Reſtrictions on the Free Blacks and Mulattoes—Their Character at length.

From the moſt exact account the preſent population of the Weſt Indies ſtands as follows:

	Whites.	Blacks.
Jamaica -	30,000 -	250,000
Barbadoes -	16,167 -	62,115
Grenada -	1,000 -	23,926
St. Vincent's	1,450 -	11,853
Dominica -	1,236 -	14,967
Antigua -	2,590 -	37,808
Montſerrat -	1,300 -	10,000
Nevis -	1,000 -	8,420
St. Chriſtopher's	1,900 -	20,435
Virgin Iſles -	1,200 -	9,000
Bahamas -	1,060 -	2,241
Bermudas -	5,462 -	4,9[illegible]9
Total -	65,305 -	455,684

Beſides the four great claſſes into which Weſt Indians ought properly to be divided, viz. Creoles, or native whites—European whites—Creoles of mixed blood—and free blacks—and laſt of all, Negroes in ſlavery, there are other reſidenters who deſerve notice. From North America there are many emigrants; and the Jews, who have penetrated to every quarter where the human race have exiſtence, are alſo found in theſe iſlands. They are permitted the exerciſe of their religion without reſtraint, and they have accordingly abundance of ſynagogues over all the Weſt Indies. In a political view, they rank as inferior to the other whites, being incapable of voting at an election, or of being ſent as repreſentatives to any aſſembly. In their manners they exactly reſemble thoſe of their brethren in other countries *.

It is the common imagination of thoſe who, from motives of improving their fortunes, retire from home to the Weſt Indies, that they ſhall live according to their wiſhes upon leſs application to buſineſs than they have been hitherto accuſtomed to give. But the fallacy of this belief is ſoon experienced; for in no part of the world is aſſiduity in buſineſs ſo continually and indiſpenſably neceſſary.

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* M. Neckar gives the following eſtimate of the whites, free negroes, and ſlaves of the French Weſt Indies: Whites he computes at 63,682; free blacks, 13,429; ſlaves, 437,736. Since the time of this eſtimate their numbers have probably increaſed.

Indeed the firſt poſſeſſors of theſe iſlands took poſſeſſion of their eſtates with very different proſpects than thoſe of wealth and idleneſs. It was to enjoy the liberty of civil and religious opinions that the firſt adventurers abandoned their homes, when they ſaw a government, either monarchical or republican, erected in England contrary to their principles and inclinations.

At preſent the profeſſions of law, phyſic, and divinity are filled up in the Weſt Indies by men of talents and reſpectability, and it is but juſtice to ſay, that their abilities are accompanied with liberal public encouragement. Local and contracted prejudices may incline ſome individuals to conſider an encomium on the genius of theſe men as undeſerved and partial; but let ſuch perſons recollect that Nature has thrown the ſeeds of genius on every ſoil, and that ſuperior abilities, in a general ſenſe, are the reſult of cultivation, and by no means a local quality.

From the ſea and land ſervice of Great Britain numbers of ſettlers accrue to the Weſt Indies. Such men, tired of that variety of hardſhips to which their profeſſion expoſes them, wiſely prefer a more ſober and induſtrious life.

After enumerating the tribe of factors, clerks, and tradeſmen, who become attached to the ſoil, we may take notice of the man whoſe buſineſs is to cultivate the land. This profeſſion, known by the various names of planter, overſeer, and manager, is uſually compoſed of thoſe who have been

educated to no particular buſineſs at home, and who imagining the taſk of ſuperintending the lives and labours of African ſlaves, and managing a ſugar eſtate, to require no uncommon ſtock of ſagacity, embark in offices for which they are not always capable.

It will readily, therefore, appear, that ſince the generality of ſettlers in the Weſt Indies are emigrants from the mother country, their habits and manners will be nearly the ſame with thoſe of their countrymen at home. Notwithſtanding the fairneſs of this concluſion, there are authors who, in treating of the lives and diſpoſitions of theſe Weſt Indians, hold them up to the world as characters the moſt depraved, licentious, and deteſtable; as if, in the change of climate, Britons aſſumed a new, but degraded ſtamp of character; or, as if Britain, in colonizing her ſettlements, expatriated every vicious, but not one virtuous, individual.

The picture they have drawn being ſo groſsly overcharged, is too unnatural to excite belief. What ſhould alter their character ſo much to the worſe? I confeſs that, from a change of circumſtances and habits of living, ſome difference of manners muſt ariſe; but I hope I ſhall be able to ſhow that the change tends rather to meliorate than deprave them.

In removing to the Weſt Indies, the emigrant ſuddenly finds himſelf among a people where the diſtinction of colour conſtitutes a marked difference in point of reſpectability. His complexion places

him in that claſs to which pre-eminence is ſtrongly attached; and if it be allowed that to make a man conſider himſelf as reſpectable, is as certain a method of making him aſſume a character really reſpectable, as to degrade him in his own opinion will be to ſink him to the level of his ſuppoſition, it muſt readily occur that the new ſettler will rather riſe than fall in the ſcale of true reſpectability. Indeed the conſequence I have mentioned actually takes place. The pooreſt white feels himſelf more upon a level with the rich than a European in the ſame circumſtances at home, and therefore addreſſes him in a ſtyle of frankneſs and manly independence.

"Where ſlavery," ſays a great writer, "is eſta-
"bliſhed in any part of the world, thoſe who are
"free, are by far the moſt proud and jealous of
"their freedom. Freedom is to them not only
"an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege.
"Not ſeeing there, that freedom, as in countries
"where it is a common bleſſing, may be united
"with much abject toil, with great miſery, with all
"the exterior of ſervitude, liberty looks among
"them like ſomething that is more noble and li-
"beral. Thus the people of the ſouthern colonies
"(of America) are much more ſtrongly, and with
"a higher and more ſtubborn ſpirit, attached to li-
"berty, than thoſe to the northward. Such were
"all the ancient commonwealths; ſuch were our
"Gothic anceſtors; ſuch in our days are the Poles;

" and ſuch will be all maſters of ſlaves, who are " not ſlaves themſelves."

Thoſe who are inclined to undervalue the character of the Weſt Indians. Tax them with oſtentation and ſelf importance. The charge muſt in part be admitted; but let not theſe imperfections be exaggerated or too ſeverely reprehended, when the virtues of benevolence and hoſpitality are ſo ſtrikingly their concomitants. From the prevalence of the latter virtue, there is not a tolerable inn throughout all the Weſt Indies *.

To the ſame independent ſpirit, which I before remarked ariſes from the conſciouſneſs of equality, may be attributed the unſubmitting litigious temper which the Weſt Indian diſcovers; for vices and virtues grow up naturally together. This litigious temper is not wholly without ſome advantages to counterbalance its evil effects. Thus accuſtomed to argue upon their moſt important rights, they acquire by habit a knowlege in law matters far ſuperior to the people of other countries, indepen-

* There are peculiarities in the whites as well as negroes, which deſerve to be detailed to thoſe who ſtudy their hiſtory. Nothing can be more ſtriking than the vaſt diſparity between their tables and their houſes. Their ſide-board is loaded with plate and choice wines, their dinner is ſerved up in twenty covers, and all this in a hovel worſe than a European barn. The negro attendants are numerous, but meanly habited; none but the principal ſervant wears ſhoes or ſtockings, the reſt are half naked when they wait at table.

dent of that ſhrewdneſs which the exerciſe of their faculties muſt occaſion.

But for the true features of the Weſt Indian character, we muſt principally conſult the Creoles or natives. In their perſons the Creoles are taller than the generality of Europeans; and although they want that thickneſs which is requiſite, according to our ideas of beauty, to complete the figure of a tall man, yet they have amazing dexterity and ſuppleneſs of limbs, and a graceful eaſy carriage. There are two remarkable circumſtances about their bodies, which ſhows how provident the hand of nature is to obviate the phyſical diſadvantages of an intemperate climate by wiſe and merciful means. The ſocket of their eye is remarkably ſunk in their head, by which means the impending eyebrow ſhields the ſight from the intolerable blaze of the ſun. In the next place, there is a conſtant coolneſs to the touch in their ſkins, which is certainly occaſioned by ſome effectual means which are appointed to preſerve the body in a moderation of temperature unneceſſary to the inhabitants of colder latitudes.

The ladies of the Creoles are ſober, temperate, and poſſeſſed of great ſelf-denial. Except the exerciſe of dancing, they have no other amuſements to excite the ſpirits to a volatile gaiety; for the ruinous attachment to maſquerades, gaming-tables, and aſſemblies, ſo prevalent in England, is happily here unknown. Nothing can exceed the ſobriety of their diet. Lemonade is their chief potation,

and their food is in general of a vegetable kind. It cannot be denied that in many reſpects they are infinitely inferior in attractions of perſon to our countrywomen; for though their figures are fine, there is not much ſpirit or animation either in their features or manners. They want, too, that indiſpenbſale requiſite of complete beauty, the glow of youthful vermilion which heightens the graces of the Engliſh fair. But their inferiority in beauty of complexion is recompenſed by the brilliant luſtre of their large and expreſſive eyes. Their teeth are alſo remarkably fine, owing to the precautions they take to preſerve them clean, and the conſtant uſe of the chew-ſtick, whoſe qualities operate as a ſtrong detergent.

The moſt prominent circumſtance in the character of the natives is the aſtoniſhing progreſs of the mind at a very early period of life. The philoſophers of Europe have taken notice of this phenomenon; but arguing in an analogical manner from the nature of plants to that of animals, they have produced, as far as I can judge, an unfounded aſſertion. They tell us, that as vegetables in a warm climate riſe ſooner to perfection, and ſooner ready than thoſe of European growth; ſo the Weſt Indian mind unfolds its powers at an earlier period, and alſo proportionably ſoon falls into decay. Let ſuch philoſophers, however, recollect, that in a climate ſo warm the mind is more eaſily led into licentious habits, and conſequently, with equal durability of powers to the European, muſt, from this

circumſtance, ſooner fall off, without alleging natural imbecility as the cauſe. Again, let it be remembered that, from local ſituation, the mind is incapable of finding objects whereupon its faculties may be exerciſed, and its vigour conſequently augmented. And, laſtly, that in thoſe inſtances where the faculties of a Weſt Indian mind has been unſeduced to waſte its early faculties upon unworthy objects, and where favourable circumſtances have induced habits of reflection, its genius has remained undiminiſhed to a late period of life.

But the qualities of the heart are more conducive to general happineſs than thoſe of the head; and in theſe qualities I cannot certainly ſuppoſe the Creole inferior to any other of his ſpecies. Their diſpoſitions are as generous as their manners are frank and independent. They have no falſehood, no meanneſs, no concealment in their character, and judging of mankind by themſelves, they ſuſpect not another of ſuch unamiable diſpoſitions.

Philoſophers have been gravelled between the two opinions reſpecting the effect of climate. Since the hiſtory of mankind, it has been obſerved as a general rule, that conquerors have come from the north. Again, in the warmeſt latitudes, courage and ſtrength have been eminently conſpicuous; and, when we travel to the fartheſt boundaries of the north, we behold the courage of man expire in the Laplander. Are we to believe, then, that timidity is the conſequence of heat? I admit that indolence may reſult from ſuch a cauſe; but indolence and timidity are

not cauſe and effect. The Creole is attached to eaſe and pleaſure; and he is not fond of exerting the faculties of mind. But when the dormant qualities of his ſoul are excited, he evinces ability to act and to think with the moſt ſpirited energy. In perſonal courage the Creoles are by no means defective, as, upon innumerable occaſions, they have ſignally diſplayed.

The Weſt Indian, it is ſaid, has a ridiculous propenſity to magnify his hopes of proſperity, and to gratify his imagination with dreams of improbable wealth and abſurd anticipation. There is no quality in their ſoil or their climate which contributes to this effect, as writers have fancifully ſuppoſed. It ariſes very evidently from the nature of their property, which, unlike European eſtates, yields a certain and ſtated return, when ſubmitted to the induſtry of farmers. The Weſt Indian becomes his own farmer; and as the difference of one year's production with another's is altogether aſtoniſhing, the Weſt Indian is eaſily betrayed to hope for a ſudden accumulation of wealth.

Of the people of mixed complexion, who are called people of colour, there are various degrees. A ſambo is the offſpring of a black woman by a mulatto man, or of a mulatto woman by a black man. The mulatto is the offſpring of a black woman by a white man; the quadroon is the child of a mulatto woman by a white man, and the muſtee of a quadroon woman by a white man. The Spaniards

introduced nicer diſtinctions, which it is needleſs here to enumerate.

I believe, over all our ſugar iſlands, the deſcendants of negroes by whites, whom the law entitles to the full privileges of freedom, are ſuch as are three degrees removed from the negro venter. All below this go by the general term of Mulatto.

In Jamaica there was anciently a diſtinction between thoſe born of freed mothers and ſuch as had been immediately releaſed by the will of their owners. This aroſe from a maxim of law which originated from them other country, and was eſtabliſhed over the colonies, that the property of what is born accrues to the poſſeſſor of the mother. Until the year 1748, perſons born under the latter circumſtances, that is, whoſe mothers had been manumitted by their maſters after their birth, were denied the trial by jury, and held unworthy of giving judicial evidence. Theſe hardſhips have been in part mitigated; but much yet remains to be done. In moſt of the Britiſh iſlands, their evidence is only received in thoſe caſes where no particular act is paſſed in favour of the white perſon accuſed. The negro has a maſter to protect him from groſs abuſe; but the mulatto, by this partial inſtitution, has no ſecurity againſt hardſhip and oppreſſion. They are likewiſe debarred from being appointed to the loweſt offices of public truſt: They cannot hold the King's commiſſion even in a black corps; nor can they vote for repreſentatives at elections.

It is to be acknowledged, that their degraded ſitu-

ation is in ſome degree mitigated by the generoſity which the members of Weſt Indian aſſemblies are ready to grant to people of colour, whoſe education and baptiſm entitles them to reſpect even in contradiction to expreſs ſtatutes on the ſubject.

Still, however, partial inſtances of generoſity do not juſtify the humiliating ſtate of ſubjection to which this unfortunate people are reduced. The loweſt and moſt worthleſs white will behave with inſolence to the beſt educated free man of colour; and as contempt always degrades a character, they are unprofitable members of the community.

Whatever may be ſaid upon the propriety or impropriety of equalizing theſe people with thoſe of a different complexion, can it be denied that wiſdom and humanity demand the immediate redreſs of one intolerable grievance? The injury I allude to is their incapability to appear as witneſſes, even in caſes where they complain of perſonal injuſtice. What attachment to his ſoil; what gratitude to the protection of laws; what motive to benefit the ſociety to which he belongs; or, in fine, what dignity or independence of mind can that man poſſeſs, who is conſcious that every miſcreant of a paler complexion may inſult him with impunity?

Not only from the ſphere above him has the free mulatto reaſon to expect ill uſage: Situated, as he is, in an inſulated and intermediate ſtate between the black and the white, he is deſpiſed by the one, and enviouſly hated by the other. The black may conſider his ſubjection to a white man as in ſome

meaſure tolerable, but the idea of being the ſlave of a ſlave he utterly abhors.

In their behaviour to whites the mulattoes are modeſt and implicit. They are accuſed, however, (I am afraid with juſtice) of abuſing their power over the blacks. Indeed, a different line of conduct cannot be poſſibly expected. The ſlave who is made a maſter is ever the moſt unfeeling tyrant, as the meaneſt paraſite of proſperity is the moſt inſolent inſulter of misfortune.

There is one charge brought againſt the mulattoes, which, though it cannot be denied, conſideration of circumſtances will enable us to palliate: I mean the incontinency of their women. Theſe are over all the Weſt India iſlands maintained as kept miſtreſſes to white men. But if we examine the ſituation of theſe unfortunate women, we ſhall find much more reaſon to blame the cruelty of their keepers, in inviting them to this diſgraceful life, than of their imprudence in accepting the offer. Uninſtructed in maxims of morality, untaught even in the ſimpleſt parts of education, unable to procure huſbands either from among the whites or the young men of their own complexion, (the former regarding ſuch an union as baſe and degrading, the latter, too degraded themſelves to form ſuch a ſettled connection); under ſuch circumſtances, they have a ſtrong apology to plead for their conduct.

Beſides, this connection between the keeper and the miſtreſs, if not in the light of wedlock, is conſidered at leaſt as equally innocent. They call their

keeper by the endearing appellation of huſband; they are faithful and affectionate to his intereſts; and to the reſt of mankind they behave with decency and diſtance. Few, very few indeed, abandon themſelves to that infamous ſpecies of proſtitution which is openly avowed in the populous cities of Europe.

The injuſtice of retaining ſo many beautiful, and in all reſpects amiable women, in the diſgraceful ſtate of concubinage, demands immediate redreſs. But by whom ſhall the example be ſet? By the victims of this injuſtice it *cannot*, and by the ſeducers I am afraid it *will* not, be effected. To the humane diſpoſitions of theſe people of colour, the moſt agreeable teſtimony is given by a reſpectable author, Don Antonio de Ulloa, when ſpeaking of the forlorn and friendleſs circumſtances to which many poor Europeans are re..ed (who, emigrating to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies in hopes of better fortune, can find no means of ſubſiſtence). Many of theſe (ſays the Spaniard) traverſe the ſtreets till they have nothing left to purchaſe food or lodgings. Wearied with going in queſt of employment, affected by the diſappointment of their hopes, and the unfavourable change of climate, they retire, ſick and melancholy, to lie down in the ſquares of churches and porticoes. The people of colour here diſplay their generoſity, when the rich and ſelfiſh merchant refuſes his mite to relieve their miſeries. The mulatto and the negro pitying their afflictions, carry them home to their houſes; they nouriſh,

comfort, and reſtore the poor ſufferer, and if they die, ſay prayers for their ſouls. Such is the pleaſing account of the generoſity of the mulattoes of Carthagena, and any one acquainted with thoſe of the other Weſt Indies will not heſitate to aſcribe the ſame character to them which we have here aſſigned to the former.

In treating of the Creoles or natives of the Weſt Indies, and of the mulattoes or thoſe of mixed blood, we have confined ourſelves to thoſe who are either partially or entirely white. We ſhould now treat of the free blacks in a diſtinct chapter, were there any ſtriking diſſimilarity between theſe and the blacks in a ſtate of ſlavery. Our next chapter, therefore, is appropriated to the conſideration of the negro character in general.

CHAPTER II.

Of Negroes in a State of Slavery—Preliminary Obſervations—Origin of the Slave Trade—Portugueſe Settlement on the African Coaſt—Negroes introduced at Hiſpaniola—Hawkins's Voyage—African Company eſtabliſhed by James the Firſt—Charters granted—Deſcription of the African Coaſt—Forts and Factories—Exports from Great Britain—Number of Negroes who are at preſent exported to the Britiſh Colonies—State of the Trade from 1771 to 1787—Number of Negroes at this Time exported annually to the different Nations of Europe.

THE number of negroes at preſent in the Britiſh Weſt Indies is no leſs than 450,000. To contemplate the ſubjection of ſo many of our ſpecies to the abſolute diſpoſal of others, is no very pleaſing proſpect; and the picture is heightened in its deformity when we reflect on the numbers of thoſe who, from their native ſoil, their homes and their friends, have been dragged into this degrading condition.

Yet, however odious and improper the traffic may be, it is evident that the trade may be bad, and yet the poſſeſſor of the ſlaves be guiltleſs of the crimes with which it has been faſhionable of late years to load him; and accordingly, whatever malice I may excite among thoſe whoſe indignation is too zealous to ſelect the juſt victims of indignation, I ſhall conſider myſelf juſtifiable in attempting to reſcue from unmerited opprobrium the characters of thoſe who are at this time ſubjected to

popular condemnation. By what means have the greater part of the poſſeſſors of ſlaves in the Weſt Indies come into their eſtates? By inheritance, and by accident. It may be ſaid that they ſhould abandon their property, when they find that the poſſeſſion of it is not to be juſtified by humanity. This has in fact been done. Humane men in Britain, influenced by the univerſal ſympathy for the real or ſuppoſed injuries of the African negro, ſent out orders to the factors of their Weſt India poſſeſſions to enfranchiſe the ſlaves upon their eſtates. They have, however, been ſince convinced that ſuch well meant benevolence is not even conſiſtent with the intereſt of the ſlaves themſelves.

The Society eſtabliſhed in Great Britain for Propagating the Goſpel in Foreign Parts, are alſo poſſeſſors of eſtates in the Weſt Indies, as a collective body. The feelings of theſe men were as ſenſibly alive to the ſufferings of their fellow creatures as any other Chriſtians; and if they had conſidered it as the real benefit of the negro to be immediately emancipated, they would doubtleſs have thought it their moſt ſacred duty to have done ſo. But, upon ſerious and mature deliberation, their judgment convinced them to the contrary, and they have been alſo obliged, in order to divide the work, to purchaſe others, and keep them in the ſame ſituation.

The ſole object of inveſtigation ought then to be, is the conduct of the Weſt India planters to their ſlaves, conſidering the ordinary defect of human

power, worſe than the uſage of a maſter to his ſervants ſhould properly be?

We ſhall now proceed to lay before the reader ſome account of the origin and exiſting ſtate of the ſlave trade. The following chapter ſhall contain an account of the negro, his character and diſpoſition, of their conveyance to, and treatment in the Weſt Indies; after which I ſhall take notice of the abuſes which are ſaid to exiſt in the practice of the trade.

Under the celebrated Prince Henry of Portugal, in 1442, the firſt African ſlaves were carried from home by Europeans. Anthony Gonzales had captured two moors near Cape Bojador, and brought them home; but being ordered by his Prince to reſtore them to Africa, he ſold them at the Rio del Ora, and received from the moors ten blacks and ſome gold duſt. The avarice of the Portugueſe was awakened by this ſucceſsful exchange, and a traffic was begun on a large ſcale. Forty years the King of Portugal aſſumed the title of Lord of Guinea.

As far back as 1502 we hear of negroes employed in the mines of Hiſpaniola. Ovando, indeed, forbade their importation on account of the wickedneſs they taught the Indians; but ſo buſy were the Spaniards in extirpating theſe unhappy people, that negroes were found indiſpenſably neceſſary, and permiſſion to import them was again reſtored.

Twelve years after, at the inſtance of Bartholomew, a man whoſe philanthropy engaged him

very cordially to befriend and protect the Indians, a patent was granted entitling certain perſons to import annually 4000 negroes into the Spaniſh Weſt Indies. Las Caſas is accuſed of inconſiſtency in thus alleviating the miſeries of one race of men at the expence of another. But let it be remembered, that ſimilar evils inflicted upon different individuals will not produce invariably the ſame degree of hardſhip. Las Caſas ſaw with grief and indignation the deplorable calamities of the unfriended Indians. He beheld a once happy and an innocent people, who had never known calamity till it was inflicted by the hands of Europeans, reduced in a ſhort time from 1,000,000 to 60,000 individuals. He compaſſionated their ſlavery the more becauſe they had known better days, and were unaccuſtomed to the taſks that were impoſed. He calculated, therefore, very wiſely, when he adviſed the avaricious Spaniards, ſince their minds muſt be kept in employment, rather to devote a hardy and ſavage people, accuſtomed to the ſevereſt tyranny at home, to the taſk, than thoſe to whom oppreſſion was new, and whoſe minds were too delicate for ſlavery.

The negroes imported from Africa were, from their earlieſt years, the objects of ſeverity, and their tempers had been conſequently inured to the pain of it, and their bodies were, beſides, of a firmer texture than thoſe inhabitants of a delicious climate, to whom the fruits of the earth ſprung up almoſt ſpontaneouſly. Las Caſas could not be ex-

pected, unleſs endowed with inſpiration, to calculate the future effects of the traffic, and his conduct was therefore as humane as it was judicious.

John Hawkins was at that time in the ſervice of Elizabeth, by whom he was afterwards knighted. Underſtanding that ſlaves fetched a good price at Hiſpaniola, he was tempted to ſet ſail with a fleet of three ſhips, one of 120, another of 100, and one of 40 tons burden. His armament was manned with 100 men. He ſet out for Guinea, October 1562, and landing at Sierra Leone, by the moſt horrid and unjuſtifiable means collected 300 ſlaves. Touching at Hiſpaniola, he made a profitable exchange, and returned to England after 11 months abſence.

The following year he ſailed with ſix ſhips, among which was the Jeſus of 700 tons, and being joined in his voyage by two others, proceeded to Guinea. After ſome diſaſters, he landed at Cape de Verde on the African coaſt. Here he laid ſnares for the natives, whom the hiſtorian of this voyage repreſents as "a gentle and loving people;" but the crew of the Minion *, probably ſhocked at the unmanly method he took to procure his cargo, gave a private warning to the unſuſpecting natives; and Hawkins watched for them in vain. The admiral then parted from the Minion, and proceeded to the Iſland Alcatras.

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* One of the two ſhips who joined Hawkins after he had put to ſea.

Here the Engliſh again tried their ſnares to inveigle the Africans, but they avoided them. They followed them in vain with their fire-arms, for they retired into the woods. Diſappointment forced them to proceed to another iſland called Sambula. The natives of this iſland, it appears, were cannibals; and the Engliſh, *humanely* determining to puniſh their cruelty, burnt and deſtroyed their villages with great zeal. The natives, however, were too nimble for their ſearch, eſcaping all their purſuits.

Leaving the further particulars of this *gallant* admiral's exploits upon the African ſhore, we proceed to remark, that the French and Portugueſe at this time maintained a contract with the natives to ſupply them with ſlaves. Their conduct was more humane, for they only bargained for ſuch of the natives as were ſlaves already, and who were occaſionally uſed as a repaſt to the natives. Hawkins (unprincipled villain!) made a third piratical voyage; but, by the mercy of Heaven, periſhed, with all his gang, in the attempt.

In 1618, a company of merchants in London obtained a patent for excluſive trade. They were obliged, however, to abandon their project, from the ſcantineſs of the profits which accrued from their expeditions. Under Charles I. it was again granted to another application, and the profits turned out to be more conſiderable. But their ſucceſs attracting notice, others embarked in an illicit traffic,

and interlopers of all nations pouring in upon the coaſt, this monopoly was abandoned, and never continued till 1662. Ten years after this period, no leſs a ſum than 111,000l. were raiſed in nine months by the ſubſcribers, for conſtituting a company; a third of which ſum was devoted to the purpoſe of building forts upon the coaſt. One immediate benefit that reſulted from this eſtabliſhment, was the creation of manufactures at home. The Dutch had formerly ſupplied the Guinea traders with all the ſtores for the voyage; but woollen goods and ſeveral other important articles of traffic were now produced in Britain for their ſupply. They exported theſe to the value of 70,000l. per annum.

But the proſperity of this company was of ſhort duration. Among other benefits of the Revolution, the abolition of all monopolies, the gifts of the crown, was obtained. The trade to Africa became free, and the adventurers who embarked in it were numerous. For ſome time, however, the merchants, who had been diſappointed in their proſpects of wealth, attempted to maintain the continuation of their monopoly, till, by an act of William and Mary, their right, which before had been virtually, was now expreſsly cancelled. It was by this act declared lawful for any of his Majeſty's liege ſubjects to trade from Africa to the plantations in America, between Cape Mount and the Cape of Good Hope, upon conditions of paying ten per cent. *ad valorem*, for exported goods, at the time of entry.

It was ſtipulated by the ſame act, That any perſon, for the payment of an additional duty of ten per cent. for the goods imported, ſhould have the ſtill more extenſive privilege of trading between Cape Blanco and Cape Mount. The product of theſe duties was deſtined for the good of the company.

This law gave general diſcontent, and innumerable petitions were preſented againſt it. The company propheſied their own ruin, and their fears were likely to be verified; for they had declined ſo prodigiouſly in 1739, that the Parliament were obliged to vote 10,000l. annually for the ſpace of nine years *.

In the year 1750, after undergoing ſo many changes, the African ſlave trade aſſumed a new aſpect. A law was paſſed for its encouragement and improvement, of which it is needleſs to detail the particulars, as the act may be conſulted. I ſhall now proceed to give a brief account of the countries with which this traffic is maintained.

From Loango, St. Paul's in Angola, to Cape Blanco, extends this line of coaſt to the length of 1300 Engliſh leagues.

In the province of Senegambia the Britiſh have an eſtabliſhment. It is watered by the rivers Gambia, navigable for many hundred miles up the country, and inhabited by the Mandingoes.

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* In the year 1744, the grant was 20,000l. which makes up the ſum of 100,000l. granted by Parliament for the ſupport of the ſlave trade.

From Roxo to Appollonia, the ſettlements are principally Portugueſe. The natives are called Mandingoes, though different in language.

From Appollonia to the river Volta, the Gold Coaſt extends for 1000 miles, and is divided into a number of petty ſtates. Shantee, Akim, and Aquambou, three large kingdoms, of which little is known, form the inland country. Over all this coaſt the language is pretty ſimilar. The natives are denominated the Koromantees, from Koromantyne, a factory very reſpectable while it remained in poſſeſſion of the Engliſh, but fallen into inſignificance ſince it was taken by the Dutch.

The next diviſion is the Whidaw country, by ſome denominated the Gold Coaſt Proper. From Popo, a principality in this diviſion, the natives of Whidaw are, by the Britiſh traders, commonly denominated Papaws. Next to this is the great empire of Benin, beginning on the weſt bank of the river Lagos, and extending as far as Cape Lopez. The negroes on this coaſt are in general denominated Eboes. A particular tribe are diſtinguiſhed by the name Mocoes. The language of theſe is different from any other on the coaſt.

To the ſouthward of the river Congo, the Portugueſe have conſiderable poſſeſſions. They have built and ſtrongly fortified the city of Loango, St. Paul's, and, extending their commerce to the eaſtern coaſt, travel with caravans quite acroſs the country.

In reckoning the forts and factories eſtabliſhed by

European ſettlers, we ſhall find the following number poſſeſſed by the following nations:

By the Dutch,	-	15
— the Britiſh,	-	40
— the Portugueſe,	-	4
— the Danes,	-	4
— the French,	-	3

From Britain there is continual exportation to Africa of woollens, linens; Sheffield, Birmingham, and Mancheſter goods; ſilks, cottons, cloths, arms, powder, ſhot, wrought braſs and copper, and ſeveral other commodities, which annually return to England about 800,000l. There is an immunity of trading in few places of Africa. Wherever a briſk trade is kept up, the king, or chief man of the diſtrict, claims a duty upon all exports. The exchange of commodities is managed in different ways. Sometimes the Britiſh purchaſer comes up to the houſe of the black merchant, but more frequently the ſhip is made the market-place. The factories eſtabliſhed on the coaſt undertake to procure cargoes for their own veſſels; and the officers of the forts alſo, according to their circumſtances and ability, ſell ſlaves to the Guinea traders in private bargains; but the natives themſelves bring ſlaves cheaper to market than any in the Britiſh eſtabliſhments.

Previous to the exchange which takes place between the European and the African trader, there is a continued chain of merchants at different diſtances, up the country, who ſend them down

to each others hands, from diſtant places, yet unexplored by any white. Though the trade upon the coaſt is regular and conſtant, I am ſorry that, from deficiency of accounts, I have not been able to procure a preciſe eſtimate of all the Africans who have been, ſince the firſt commencement of theſe ſettlements, tranſported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies. I ſhall, however, lay before the reader all the information I have been able to collect; and he may probably be enabled, by his ſagacity, to gueſs at a number not very remote from fact.

It has been ſtrongly aſſerted by the enemies of the ſlave trade, and never denied by its abettors, that, from 1680 and 1700, no leſs than 300,000 Africans were reduced to ſlavery by Britiſh merchants. From the latter period till 1786, there were taken from Africa in all 610,000 into the ſingle iſland of Jamaica. A proper eſtimation may be formed in the reader's mind of the number exported, during the ſame period, to the ſouthern provinces of North America, as well as the Windward Iſlands. Reckoning on theſe grounds, we may ſafely fix the whole number of negroes imported from 1686 till 1786, at 2,130,000. This is a ſmaller calculation than is uſually made, but I apprehend it is founded in truth.

It ſeems, that before the period of the American war, the ſlave trade had come to its higheſt pitch. The following has been given to the public as an accurate account of the ſhips which ſailed from England to the coaſt of Africa, in 1771, and of the

ſlaves, for which they were provided. Its authenticity I believe unimpeachable.

	Ships.		Negroes.
To Senegambia, -	40	for	3310
— Windward Coaſt, -	56	—	11960
— Gold Coaſt, -	29	—	7525
— Bight of Benin, -	63	—	23301
— Angola, -	4	—	1050
Total,	192	—	47146

Of the above 192 ſhips	Negroes.
107 ſailed from Liverpool, for -	29250
58 —— from London, for -	8136
23 —— from Briſtol, for -	8810
4 —— from Lancaſter, for -	950

In the year 1772 ſailed from Great Britain, for the African coaſt,

	175 veſſels, having goods on board, valued at -	L.	866394 11	3
1773 -	151 - ditto -		688110 10	11
1774 -	167 - ditto -		846525 12	5
1775 -	152 - ditto -		786168 2	8
1776 -	101 - ditto -		470779 1	1
1777 -	58 - ditto -		239218 3	0
1778 -	41 - ditto -		154086 1	10
1779 -	28 - ditto -		159217 19	7

This evident falling off can be aſcribed to no

other cauſe than the unfortunate American war. After the termination of it, the trade aſſumed a briſker turn; as appears by the following account of the negroes imported into and exported from the Britiſh Weſt India ſettlements, from 1783 to 1787, a ſpace of five years.

Year.	No. of ſhips.	Tons.	Negroes imp.	Negr. exp.	Negr. retained.
1783	38	5455	16208	809	15399
1784	93	13301	28550	5263	23287
1785	73	10730	21598	5018	16580
1786	67	8070	19160	4317	14843
1787	85	12183	21023	5366	15657

Of the whole number now annually exported from Africa, by the ſubjects of Great Britain, France, Holland, Denmark, and Portugal, and the particular countries whence ſupplied, the following account was tranſmitted by the merchants of Liverpool to the Lords of the Privy Council, and it is undoubtedly as authentic and particular a return as can poſſibly be obtained, viz.

	No. of ſlaves exported.
By the Britiſh,	38000
——— French,	20000
——— Dutch,	4000
——— Danes,	2000
——— Portugueſe,	10000
Total,	74000

	No. of ſlaves.
Of which Gambia furniſhes about -	700
——— Iſles Delos, and the adjacent rivers,	1500
From Sierra Leone to Cape Mount,	2000
—— Cape Mount to Cape Palmas,	3000
—— Cape Palmas to C. Appolonia,	1000
——— Gold Coaſt, - -	10000
——— Quitta and Popo, - -	1000
——— Whidaw, - - -	4500
——— Porto Novo, Eppee, and Bidagry,	3500
——— Lagos and Benin, -	3500
——— Bonny and New Calabar, -	14500
——— Old Calabar and Cameroons, -	7000
——— Gabon and Cape Lopez, -	500
——— Loango, Melimba, and Cape Renda,	13500
——— Majumba, Ambris, and Miſſoula,	1000
——— Loango, St. Paul's, and Benguela,	7000
Total,	74200

Extenſive and various as the coaſt is from whence theſe natives are taken, it is perhaps impoſſible to diſcriminate between the character of one nation and that of another. Among ſlaves there is uniformity of character in every climate on the face of the earth, from the ſubjection to which they are yoked, and the total want of opportunity to call forth the latent energies of their ſouls. Well has it been remarked by Homer, that "the day which makes a man a ſlave takes away half his worth." A perſon, however, who has lived in

ſuch a ſituation as to behold and reflect upon the moſt minute manners of the negro, will be able to obſerve ſome ſhades of diſtinction which ſlavery has not effaced. After ſome obſervations, therefore, on theſe features of diſcrimination, I ſhall proceed to inveſtigate the negro character in general.

CHAPTER III.

Mandingoes, or Natives of the Windward Coaſt—Mahometans—Their Wars, Manners, and Perſons—Koromantyn Negroes, or Negroes of the Gold Coaſt—Their Ferociouſneſs of Diſpoſition diſplayed in an Account of the Negro Rebellion in Jamaica in 1760—Their National Manners, Wars, and Superſtitions—Natives of Whidaw or Fida—Their Good Qualities—Natives from Benin—Perſons and Tempers—Cannibals—Natives of Congo and Angola—Survey of the Characters and Diſpoſitions of Negroes in a State of Slavery.

OVER all Africa to the weſtward and northward of Sierra Leone, the natives are Mahometans in their religious faith. In ſtrict imitation of the founder of their religion, they are perpetually at war with the nations around them in order to enforce their creed. The priſoners, therefore, taken in theſe religious wars, cannot ſurely be ſaid to be harſhly uſed, when it is ſo likely they would ſuffer death from the vengeance of their enemies were they not ranſomed by the factories. I am inclined to ſuppoſe that, when they fight among themſelves, the Mandingoes are impelled by lucrative motives, that is, to ſerve the merchants on the coaſt with ſuch priſoners as they can ſurpriſe and take. Theſe they carry down from great diſtances to the ſea-coaſt, and diſpoſe of to the beſt advantage *.

* This Mr. Edwards relates upon the authority of a ſlave from whoſe mouth he wrote down the relation. The ſlave himſelf had

The Mandingoes, though divided into many tribes, very different in appearance, have yet a national conformation of perſon, and eaſily known from the natives of a different part of Africa. Some tribes among them are tall above the common rate of negroes. It is remarkable in all the Mandingoes, that they are leſs diſguſting in features, and more free from a fetid ſmell, than any other Africans. They are, with all theſe good qualities, indifferent performers of any work they are ſet to.

The Koromantyn negroes come next under conſideration. Their characteriſtic diſtinction is a firmneſs of body and mind, which modern ideas of ſuperiority would denominate ferociouſneſs, but which the ancients would have called by the appropriate term that comprehends all the virtues. They encounter danger and death without ſeeming to ſhrink. They have conſtitutions fitted for the ſevereſt labour, and from cuſtom appear not averſe to employment. Of theſe negroes there are many

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been kidnapped by ſome of the Mandingoes, and ſold to a ſhip bound for Jamaica. Having left his country very young, he could not relate many circumſtances about the peculiar manners of the natives, but recollected that they practiſed circumciſion, and were exceedingly ſuperſtitious. He chanted a ſentence which Mr. Edwards ſuppoſed to be the Arabic *La Illa ill Illa* (there is no God but God) in the Alcoran. On Friday, he ſaid, they faſted with great devotion, and (in his own phraſe) it was almoſt held a ſin to ſwallow their ſpittle on that day. Mr. Edwards alſo relates that he had another ſervant who could write the Arabic alphabet very beautifully and exactly, and ſome ſelect paſſages of the Alcoran.

who, in being reduced to Weſt Indian ſlavery, only make a change of maſters, as thoſe whom I queſtioned moſt minutely on the ſubject, and on whoſe veracity I could principally depend, informed me that they had beed ſold by their owners to the Guinea traders. But in the private wars of one ſtate with another among theſe Koromantyn Africans, it muſt frequently happen that thoſe of ſuperior ſtation, and who are themſelves poſſeſſors of ſlaves, ſhould be taken in battle. That ſuch people, when ſold into ſlavery, ſhould manifeſt the moſt enterpriſing attempts to take vengeance on their enſlavers, is not to be wondered at. We find, accordingly, that not many years ago, when a rebellion broke out in Jamaica, in 1761, it was inſtigated and led on by an intrepid negro of this deſcription, who had been a chief in his own country on the coaſt. It broke out on the frontiers of St. Mary's pariſh, and had not great courage and conduct been diſplayed on this occaſion by a gentleman who reſided in that quarter, Mr. Zachary Bayly, it cannot be doubted but that the revolt would have been wide and deſtructive. We ſhould not omit mentioning a fact which occurred at this period, and which reflects much honour upon the inſurgents themſelves, as well as on the individual to whom the act of generoſity was ſhown. Abraham Fletcher was the overſeer on the eſtate of the above mentioned gentleman, Mr. Bayly, and during all his adminiſtration had behaved to the negroes with juſtice and humanity. We have ſeldom ſeen

theſe virtues reſpected by barbarous men during a period of revolt. Their minds are ſo haraſſed by the emotions of fear and revenge, that they forget to diſcriminate the innocent from the guilty. This was not, however, the caſe with the Koromantyn rebels. They had Fletcher in their poſſeſſion; and had his paſt conduct been in any ſhape deſerving of reproach, he muſt have ſeverely atoned for it now; but in conſideration of his good qualities, they gave him his life. They did not, however, continue in the diſplay of ſuch moderation: Proceeding to Port Maria, they provided themſelves with ammunition and arms, and being joined in their route by ſeveral companies of their countrymen, proceeded by the highway to the interior of the country, carrying murder and deſtruction as they went. In the mean time, Mr. Bayly, who had in vain endeavoured to approach and pacify them, by applying perſuaſion inſtead of force, finding there was no ſafety but in ſevere meaſures, collected a body of 100 whites and faithful blacks, and ſending round the plantations to alarm the inhabitants of their danger, led on his party to retaliate hoſtilities on the rebels. He came up with them at laſt, attacked them, and taking many priſoners, drove the reſt into the woods. By another party that went out in purſuit of the negroes, Tacky, the Koromantyn chief, who had rouſed up and led on his countrymen to revolt, was killed in a ſkirmiſh. Some dreadful examples were then made of ſuch as were taken and convicted of being engaged in

the maſſacres which had been perpetrated. Of three that ſuffered moſt ſeverely, one was burnt alive, the other two were hung in chains alive, and left to periſh in that diſmal ſituation. With aſtoniſhing firmneſs did theſe unfortunate victims brave the ſeverity of their puniſhments. The two, in particular, who were expoſed in chains, though nine days lingering in hunger and pain, ſeemed unaffected by their hardſhip, and even mixed with the converſation of the ſurrounding negroes. On the ſeventh day, when one would ſuppoſe their torture to have become intenſe, they were obſerved to laugh immoderately at ſomething that was ſaid.

To what ſhall we aſcribe this iron fortitude of mind? Undoubtedly to their manners, and the unlimited barbarity which the ſavage poſſeſſors of ſlaves on the coaſt of Africa exerciſe over their ſubjects. Accuſtomed to the horrors of war from their infancy, inured to hardſhip by the ſeverities they endure, and taught to look upon death and cruelties, till theſe loſe the power of impreſſing them, they grow regardleſs of life, and unfeeling for themſelves and others. Their barbarity is not confined to their priſoners*; the father is barbarouſly ſevere to his children, and the friends of the deceaſed huſband ſacrifice, without remorſe, his wives and ſlaves at his burial.

It is true, however, that, when they revolve to

* The uſual mode of treating theſe is, to tear away the under jaw, and leave them to expire in that dreadful ſituation.

humane maſters in the Weſt Indies, they gradually loſe that contempt for death, and, from actually advancing higher in the ſcale of happineſs, grow leſs ferociouſly cruel, and more attached to exiſtence. A Jamaica gentleman viſiting a ſick Koromantyn negro, aſked him why he was afraid to die? The negro, in broken Engliſh, replied, that, in his own country, he uſed to deſpiſe death; but ſince he came to the Weſt Indies, had learnt to know the value of life.

At a very early period of life does this ſuperior hardineſs of mind and body diſcover itſelf in the Koromantyn negro. A gentleman in Jamaica, who had purchaſed twenty young Africans, ten Koromantyns, and ten Eboes, ordered them to be marked with a ſilver brand on the breaſt. The operation is by no means ſevere; for the ſilver being dipped in the ſpirits of wine, and applied to the ſkin, the pain is of no continuance. But the Eboes believing it to be exceſſively painful, ſcreamed out in terror, and the gentleman deſiſted from the operation. The Koromantyn youths, to manifeſt their contempt of the operation, voluntarily ſtept up, and underwent the impreſſion without ſymptoms of apprehenſion.

Whatever inhumanity theſe people may diſplay when they have an opportunity of revenge, I think it indiſputably evident, that they frequently diſcover marks of a truly energetic mind, which, it is to be regretted, has no opportunities of exerciſing itſelf in generous and noble virtues while kept in a ſtate of

ſubjection. I ſhall conclude my obſervations with giving a conciſe account of their religious tenets.

They believe in a Supreme Being, the God of the Heavens, and the Creator of the Univerſe, whom they denominate Accompong. They pray to him and adore him; but offer no ſacrifices along with their worſhip.

To the god of the earth, *Aſſaru*, they offer the fruits of the ground; to *Ipboa* they ſacrifice a hog; and to *Obboney*, their malicious diety, they offer up human ſacrifices, captives of ſlaves.

They have their houſehold gods, like the ancients, who is ſuppoſed to have been once a human being like themſelves. To theſe they ſacrifice a cock or a goat, upon the grave where they are ſuppoſed to have heen buried, and then relax themſelves in a ſocial feſtival.

Their oaths are adminiſtered in a manner very impreſſive to a ſuperſtitious mind. The perſon ſworn drinks water mixed with human blood and earth from the grave of a near friend, wiſhing that his belly may burſt, and his bones rot, if he ſpeak not truth. It ſtrongly reſembles the oath of bitter water among the Iſraelites.

The negroes of Whidaw or Fida are beyond doubt the moſt valuable negroes imported to our iſlands. They engage in every work with alacrity; and, from being accuſtomed to agriculture at home, are uſeful labourers of the ground. They have not the fierce temper of the people laſt deſcribed, and are alſo happily free from the melancholy caſt of

temper ſo prevalent among the Eboes. We are told that the kingdom of Whidaw is induſtriouſly cultivated, and is covered with villages and farms.

In their contempt of pain and death they are widely different from the Koromantyns. They hear not the very name of death without an emotion; and it is accounted a mark of rudeneſs, and ſeverely puniſhable, to mention the term in preſence of a reſpectable perſonage. They ſubmit to the authority of the Weſt Indian poſſeſſor with patience and complacency, eſteeming it the duty of their maſter to puniſh, and their's to obey.

Among many of the Whidaw negroes, and in particular the tribe called Nagoes, circumciſion is practiſed; but there are a number of tribes who know nothing of ſuch a cuſtom.

The Eboes, or Mocoes, are the natives of Benin, a vaſt coaſt, 3000 miles in length. The complexion of this people is univerſally ſickly, and the conformation of the face bears a ſtrong reſemblance to the baboon. Natural hiſtorians have remarked, that man is more obtuſe in the figure of the lower part of his face than any other animal; but that the greater obtuſeneſs in the face of an European indicates in him a ſuperiority of mental powers, or that the Eboe may conſequently be conſidered as akin to the intellect as well as the viſage of the baboon, is a concluſion I am not warranted to draw.

The deſponding temper of the Eboe makes him leſs valuable to a maſter than the race formerly deſcribed; for, when in danger of hardſhip, or ſeverity

of puniſhment, they prefer a voluntary death to enduring it. From the melancholy dejection apparent in the countenances of theſe people, a ſpectator would be apt to conclude them more refined in their diſpoſitions than any other tribe. But the reader will be convinced to the contrary, when he learns that, ſo far from being civilized, the Mocoes, in their own country, are habitually cannibals. This fact is evidenced by the confeſſion of a Mocoe ſlave, who acknowledged that he had frequently ſhared ſuch repaſts; and by the well known trial of two negroes in Antigua, who, in 1770, were tried and condemned for murdering and devouring a fellow ſlave.

The Eboes are groſsly ſuperſtitious in their religious belief, the lizard being one of their firſt-rate divinities. The preſence of this animal is held ſo ſacred, that every violation of its dignity is puniſhed as a crime. An unfortunate inſtance of this was met with in 1787, when two ſeamen of a veſſel trading to that coaſt went aſhore for water, and, by accident, killed a Guiana-lizard. They were inſtantly ſeized and adjudged to die. A ranſom was offered, but not ſufficient to ſatisfy the avidity of the Mocoes, who inſiſted on a larger ſum. The captain (certainly no very humane man) did not chooſe to purchaſe their lives at ſo dear a rate, and accordingly abandoned them to the mercy of the natives. What became of them was never known.

The negroes of Congo and Angola come next to be conſidered. Their character is not ſtrongly

marked: They are ſlender and ſightly, with very black hair and ſkin. From their mildneſs and docility they are moſt uſeful as domeſtics. They are alſo honeſter and more ingenious than the generality of other Africans.

We have mentioned before, that whatever national traits the negroes of different parts of Africa may have, they are, by their ſituation as ſlaves, in a great meaſure reduced to one common ſtandard of debaſement. We ſhall therefore proceed to embrace the whole varieties of the negro character in one deſcription.

It is true, the Koromantyn negroes, as was formerly mentioned, are a brave people, ſpeaking of them comparatively with their brother Africans; but the oppoſite qualities ſeem generally predominant in the negro mind. The African has no candour in his diſpoſitions. When aſked a queſtion, he heſitates, and anſwers circuitouſly, that he may have time to prepare a convenient reply. In thieving they are equally expert as in prevarication.

This propenſity to vices of the vileſt nature is undoubtedly the reſult of their ſlavery. Still they are indebted to that ſame cauſe for one of the moſt amiable qualities in the human heart; I mean the compaſſion they feel for companions in the ſame diſtreſs with themſelves. The man who has been a ſhipmate with the negro during his paſſage from Africa, becomes his dear and inviolable friend; and even the name Shipmate expreſſes among them every tender idea of regard. Within this ſphere,

however, the benevolence of the negro is generally confined. To each other they are inexorably ſevere when an opportunity preſents. Should a young negro become the apprentice of an old one, no words can expreſs the miſery he endures from the mercileſs barbarity of his countryman.

Nor are they more humane even to the affectionately faithful dog which follows them. Every negro ſeems provided with an animal of this ſpecies, merely for the purpoſe of venting his malice on a being who cannot retort an injury. It is very remarkable, that the poor animal itſelf grows conſcious that he has become the ſlave of a ſlave. His generous nature is degraded; he loſes all his ſportive gambols, and grows ſullen, crouching, and ſuſpicious.

Hiſtorians, fond to deſcribe every thing in its moſt pleaſing colours, repreſent the negro as ſuſceptible of the paſſion of love in a ſtrong and ſublimated degree. Monſieur de Chanvalon exclaims, "Love, the child of nature, to whom ſhe intruſts her "preſervation, whoſe progreſs no difficulties can re- "tard, and who triumphs even in chains, inſpires "the negro amid all his miſery. No perils can "abate, nor impending puniſhments reſtrain, the ar- "dour of his paſſion. He leaves his maſter's habi- "tation by night, and, traverſing the wilderneſs, diſ- "regardful of its noxious inhabitants, ſeeks a refuge "from his ſorrows in the boſom of his faithful and "affectionate miſtreſs."

But this deſcription is as extravagant as it is elo-

quent. If by love we mean that fondneſs for an individual object, heightened by ſentiment, and refined by eſteem, I am afraid the negro will be found wholly defective in ſuch a paſſion. Notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid upon the propriety of inſtituting marriage in the Weſt Indies, I am aſſured that the negro would regard a permanent connection of this nature as the ſevereſt puniſhment you could inflict. If, on the other hand, we mean by love the animal inſtinct which blindly impels to gratification of this inſtinct, the negro has a ſufficient ſhare. They indulge this paſſion without reſerve or limitation, conſidering the change of its objects as a neceſſary requiſite to the completion of enjoyment.

It is true, indeed, in old age they begin to loſe this predilection for change, and the attachment which began in deſire, is by habit converted into friendſhip. Their old age thus becomes comfortable from a mutual exchange of good offices.

Indeed, conſidering all circumſtances, the old age of a negro is eaſy and happy. The duty of the men is to guard the proviſion grounds of the women, and to miniſter to the ſick. The aged negro, in addition to the alleviation of his work, at the ſame time enjoys a reſpect from his countrymen highly gratifying to his pride, and a tenderneſs of uſage very conducive to his comfort. Sad muſt the times be, when he is ſuffered to want. Amid all the barbarity of the African character, the virtue of reſpect for age ſhines forth with a luſtre which almoſt excuſes his vices. It is held as a ſtrong and

ſacred duty, which it were impious to omit, and but common juſtice to perform. From this tenderneſs to old age, it happens that inſtances of longevity, almoſt inconſiſtent with ſuch a warm latitude, are frequent here. At Savannah la Mar in Jamaica, a black woman died, in 1792, at the extreme age of 120 years.

The fondneſs which the negro diſcovers to be diſtinguiſhed as an orator, is a remarkable propenſity in his character. They delight in ſet ſpeeches, which have uſually very fatiguing prefaces; and if you grant them a hearing, they will amuſe you at great length on their own merits, hardſhips, and circumſtances. Much, however, as they are addicted to circumlocution, they often compreſs their meaning into ſtrong and aſtoniſhing ſentences *.

It is a prevalent opinion in Europe, that the African ear is peculiarly conſtructed for muſic, but the aſſertion is plainly unjuſt; for I believe there will hardly be found an inſtance of a negro having been a capital performer in muſic, though much pains have often been uſed to inſtruct them in the ſcience. In fact, they prefer loudneſs to harmony, and are more delighted with their native potanga, a diſmal ſounding guittar with four notes; the

* Mr. Edwards gives an inſtance of this in a negro, who, after much fatigue, was ſleeping on the floor beſide him while he was finiſhing a letter, and who could not be awakened by his repeated calls. Another ſervant attempted to rouſe him, and exclaimed, "*You no hear maſſa.*" To which he replied, opening his eyes and cloſing them again, "*Sleep hab no maſſa* (ſleep has no maſter)."

dundo, or tabor; and their goombay, which is a harſh ruſtic drum. Their ſongs no way poetical, are ſung extempore. Their tunes are various, and though not fine, have yet a pleaſing vein of melancholy. Songs of a different caſt are ſung at their feſtivals; theſe are either ſatirical or abounding in obſcenity, and accompanied with dances equally indecent.

At the funeral of a reſpected friend, they exerciſe themſelves in a martial dance, ſomewhat akin to the pyrrhic of the ancients, and accompany the ceremony with loud and warlike muſic. From this demonſtration of joy may have probably originated the rooted opinion among Europeans, that the negroes regard death as a happy event, and look forward to their deliverance from ſlavery and life with a ſatisfied eye. I am well aware, however, that they conſider death as no ſuch welcome viſitation; and that with all the evils of their life, they wiſh to ſtay as long as poſſible from the ſtate of bliſs which they are imagined to anticipate. Among negroes any time reſident in the Weſt Indies, ſuicide is much leſs frequent than among free and refined Britons. When ſuch a crime is ever perpetrated, they never ſpeak of it as an action of prudence or reſolution, but aſcribe it to the inſtigations of the evil ſpirit Obeah.

The mention of this name induces me to take notice of a very prevalent belief among the negroes. I cannot do this in a better manner than by inſerting entire the report of the agent of Jamaica to the

commiſſioners appointed to examine into the ſlave trade, and which was, I believe, diſcovered by Mr. Long.

" The term Obeah, Obiah, or Obia (for it is variouſly written) we conceive to be the adjective, and Obe or Obi the noun ſubſtantive; and that by the words Obia-men or women, are meant thoſe who practiſe Obi. The origin of the term we ſhould conſider as of no importance in our anſwer to the queſtions propoſed, if, in ſearch of it, we were not led to diſquiſitions that are highly gratifying to curioſity. From the learned Mr. Bryant's commentary upon the word Oph, we obtain a very probable etymology of the term—" A ſerpent, in the Egyptian language, " was called Ob or Aub."—" Obion is ſtill the " Egyptian name for a ſerpent."—" Moſes, in the " name of God, forbids the Iſraelites ever to inquire " of the demon Ob, which is tranſlated in our Bible " Charmer or Wizard, Divinator aut Sorcilegus."— " The woman at Endor is called Oub or Ob, tranſ- " lated Pythoniſſa; and Oubaios (he cites from " Horus Apollo) was the name of the baſiliſk or " royal ſerpent, emblem of the ſun, and an ancient " oracular deity of Africa." This derivation, which applies to one particular ſect, the remnant probably of a very celebrated religious order in remote ages, is now become in Jamaica the general term to denote thoſe Africans who in that iſland practiſe witchcraft or ſorcery, comprehending alſo the claſs of what are called Myal-men, or thoſe who, by means of a narcotic potion, made with the juice of an herb

(ſaid to be the branched calalue or ſpecies of ſolanum) which occaſions a trance or profound ſleep of a certain duration, endeavour to convince the deluded ſpectators of their power to reanimate dead bodies.

" As far as we are able to decide from our own experience and information when we lived in the iſland, and from the current teſtimony of all the negroes we have ever converſed with on the ſubject, the profeſſors of Obi are, and always were, natives of Africa, and none other; and they have brought the ſcience with them from thence to Jamaica, where it is ſo univerſally practiſed, that we believe there are few of the large eſtates poſſeſſing native Africans, which have not one or more of them. The oldeſt and moſt crafty are thoſe who uſually attract the greateſt devotion and confidence; thoſe whoſe hoary heads, and a ſomewhat peculiarly harſh and forbidding in their aſpect, together with ſome ſkill in plants of the medicinal and poiſonous ſpecies, have qualified them for ſucceſsful impoſition upon the weak and credulous. The negroes in general, whether Africans or Creoles, revere, conſult, and fear them; to theſe oracles they reſort, and with the moſt implicit faith upon all occaſions, whether for the cure of diſorders, the obtaining revenge for injuries or inſults, the conciliating of favour, the diſcovery and puniſhment of the thief or the adulterer, and the prediction of future events. The trade which theſe impoſtors carry on is extremely lucrative; they manufacture and ſell their

Obies adapted to different caſes and at different prices. A vail of myſtery is ſtudiouſly thrown over their incantations, to which the midnight hours are allotted, and every precaution is taken to conceal them from the knowledge and diſcovery of the white people. The deluded negroes, who thoroughly believe in their ſupernatural power, become the willing accomplices in this concealment, and the ſtouteſt among them tremble at the very ſight of the ragged bundle, the bottle or the egg-ſhells, which are ſtuck in the thatch or hung over the door of a hut, or upon the branch of a plaintain tree, to deter marauders. In caſes of poiſon, the natural effects of it are by the ignorant negroes aſcribed entirely to the potent workings of Obi. The wiſer negroes heſitate to reveal their ſuſpicions, through a dread of incurring the terrible vengeance which is fulminated by the Obeah-men againſt any who ſhould betray them: it is very difficult therefore for the white proprietor to diſtinguiſh the Obeah profeſſor from any other negro upon his plantation; and ſo infatuated are the blacks in general, that but few inſtances occur of their having aſſumed courage enough to impeach theſe miſcreants. With minds ſo firmly prepoſſeſſed, they no ſooner find Obi ſet for them near the door of their houſe, or in the path which leads to it, than they give themſelves up for loſt. When a negro is robbed of a fowl or a hog, he applies directly to the Obeah man or woman; it is then made known among his fellow blacks, that Obi is ſet for the thief; and as ſoon as the latter hears

the dreadful news, his terrified imagination begins to work, no reſource is left but in the ſuperior ſkill of ſome more eminent Obeah-man of the neighbourhood, who may counteract the magical operations of the other; but if no one can be found of higher rank and ability, or if, after gaining ſuch an ally, he ſhould ſtill fancy himſelf affected, he preſently falls into a decline, under the inceſſant horror of impending calamities. The ſlighteſt painful ſenſation in the head, the bowels, or any other part, any caſual loſs or hurt, confirms his apprehenſions, and he believes himſelf the devoted victim of an inviſible and irreſiſtible agency. Sleep, appetite, and cheerfulneſs forſake him, his ſtrength decays, his diſturbed imagination is haunted without reſpite, his features wear the ſettled gloom of deſpondency: dirt, or any other unwholeſome ſubſtance, become his only food, he contracts a morbid habit of body, and gradually ſinks into the grave. A negro, who is taken ill, inquires of the Obeah-man the cauſe of his ſickneſs, whether it will prove mortal or not, and within what time he ſhall die or recover? The oracle generally deſcribes the diſtemper to the malice of ſome particular perſon by name, and adviſes to ſet Obi for that perſon; but if no hopes are given of recovery, immediate deſpair takes place, which no medicine can remove, and death is the certain conſequence. Thoſe anomalous ſymptoms which originate from cauſes deeply rooted in the mind, ſuch as the terrors of Obi, or from poiſons, whoſe operation is ſlow and

intricate, will baffle the ſkill of the ableſt phyſician.

" Conſidering the multitude of occaſions which may provoke the negroes to exerciſe the powers of Obi againſt each other, and the aſtoniſhing influence of this ſuperſtition upon their minds, we cannot but attribute a very conſiderable portion of the annual mortality among the negroes of Jamaica to this faſcinating miſchief.

" The Obi is uſually compoſed of a farrago of materials, moſt of which are enumerated in the Jamaica law, viz. " Blood, feathers, parrots beaks, " dogs teeth, alligators teeth, broken bottles, grave- " dirt, rum, and egg-ſhells."

" With a view to illuſtrate the deſcription we have given of this practice, and its common effects, we have ſubjoined a few examples out of the very great number which have occurred in Jamaica; not that they are peculiar to that iſland only, for we believe ſimilar examples may be found in other Weſt India colonies. Pere Labat, in his hiſtory of Martinico, has mentioned ſome which are very remarkable.

" It may ſeem extraordinary, that a practice alleged to be ſo frequent in Jamaica ſhould not have received an earlier check from the legiſlature. The truth is, that the ſkill of ſome negroes, in the art of poiſoning, has been noticed ever ſince the coloniſts became much acquainted with them. Sloane and Barham, who practiſed phyſic in Jamaica in the laſt century, have mentioned parti-

cular inſtances of it. The ſecret and inſidious manner in which this crime is generally perpetrated, makes the legal proof of it extremely difficult. Suſpicions therefore have been frequent, but detections rare; theſe murderers have ſometimes been brought to juſtice, but it is reaſonable to believe that a far greater number have eſcaped with impunity. In regard to the other and more common tricks of Obi, ſuch as hanging up feathers, bottles, egg-ſhells, &c. &c. in order to intimidate negroes of a thieviſh diſpoſition from plundering huts, hog-ſtyes, or proviſion-grounds, theſe were laughed at by the white inhabitants as harmleſs ſtratagems, contrived by the more ſagacious, for deterring the more ſimple and ſuperſtitious blacks, and ſerving for much the ſame purpoſe as the ſcarecrows which are in general uſed among our Engliſh farmers and gardeners. But in the year 1760, when a very formidable inſurrection of the Koromantyn or Gold Coaſt negroes broke out in the pariſh of St. Mary, and ſpread through almoſt every other diſtrict of the iſland, an old Koromantyn negro, the chief inſtigator and oracle of the inſurgents in that pariſh, who had adminiſtered the fetiſh or ſolemn oath to the conſpirators, and furniſhed them with a magical preparation which was to render them invulnerable, was fortunately apprehended, convicted, and hung up with all his feathers and trumperies about him; and his execution ſtruck the inſurgents with a general panic, from which they never afterwards recovered. The

examinations which were taken at that period, firſt opened the eyes of the public to the very dangerous tendency of the Obeah practices, and gave birth to the law which was then enacted for their ſuppreſſion and puniſhment. But neither the terror of this law, the ſtrict inveſtigation which has ever ſince been made after the profeſſors of Obi, nor the many examples of thoſe who from time to time have been hanged or tranſported, have hitherto produced the deſired effect. We conclude, therefore, that either this ſect, like others in the world, has flouriſhed under perſecution; or that freſh ſupplies are annually introduced from the African ſeminaries.

The following is the Paper referred to in the preceding Account.

OBEAH PRACTICE.

"We have the following narratives from a planter in Jamaica, a gentleman of the ſtricteſt veracity, who is now in London, and ready to atteſt the truth of them.

"Upon returning to Jamaica in the year 1775, he found that a great many of his negroes had died during his abſence; and that of ſuch as remained alive, at leaſt one half were debilitated, bloated, and in a very deplorable condition. The mortality continued after his arrival, and two or three were frequently buried in one day; others were taken ill, and began to decline under the ſame ſymptoms.

Every means were tried by medicines, and the moſt careful nurſing, to preſerve the lives of the feebleſt; but in ſpite of all his endeavours, this depopulation went on for above a twelvemonth longer, with more or leſs intermiſſion, and without his being able to aſcertain the real cauſe, though the Obeah practice was ſtrongly ſuſpected, as well by himſelf, as by the doctor and other white perſons upon the plantation, as it was known to have been very common in that part of the iſland, and particularly among the negroes of the Papaw or Popo country. Still he was unable to verify his ſuſpicions, becauſe the patients conſtantly denied their having any thing to do with perſons of that order, or any knowledge of them. At length a negreſs, who had been ill for ſome time, came one day and informed him, that feeling it was impoſſible for her to live much longer, ſhe thought herſelf bound in duty, before ſhe died, to impart a very great ſecret, and acquaint him with the true cauſe of her diſorder, in hopes that the diſcloſure might prove the means of ſtopping that miſchief, which had already ſwept away ſuch a number of her fellow-ſlaves. She proceeded to ſay, that her ſtepmother (a woman of the Popo country, above 80 years old, but ſtill hale and active) had put Obi upon her, as ſhe had alſo done upon thoſe who had lately died; and that the old woman had practiſed Obi for as many years paſt as ſhe could remember.

"The other negroes of the plantation no ſooner heard of this impeachment, than they ran in a body to their maſter, and confirmed the truth of it, ad-

ding, that ſhe had carried on this buſineſs ever ſince her arrival from Africa, and was the terror of the whole neighbourhood. Upon this he repaired directly, with ſix white ſervants, to the old woman's houſe, and forcing open the door, obſerved the whole inſide of the roof (which was of thatch) and every crevice of the walls ſtuck with the implements of her trade, conſiſting of rags, feathers, bones of cats, and a thouſand other articles. Examining further, a large earthen pot or jar, cloſe covered, was found concealed under her bed. It contained a prodigious quantity of round balls of earth or clay of various dimenſions, large and ſmall, whitened on the outſide, and variouſly compounded, ſome with hair and rags, or feathers of all ſorts, and ſtrongly bound with twine; others blended with the upper ſection of the ſkulls of cats, or ſtuck round with cats teeth and claws, or with human or dogs teeth, and ſome glaſs beads of different colours; there were alſo a great many egg-ſhells filled with a viſcous or gummy ſubſtance, the qualities of which he neglected to examine, and many little bags ſtuffed with a variety of articles, the particulars of which cannot at this diſtance of time be recollected. The houſe was inſtantly pulled down, and with the whole of its contents committed to the flames, amidſt the general acclamations of all his other negroes. In regard to the old woman, he declined bringing her to trial under the law of the iſland, which would have puniſhed her with death; but, from a principle of humanity, delivered her into the hands of a party of

Spaniards, who (as ſhe was thought not incapable of doing ſome trifling kind of work) were very glad to accept and carry her with them to Cuba. From the moment of her departure, his negroes ſeemed all to be animated with new ſpirits, and the malady ſpread no further among them. The total of his loſſes in the courſe of about 15 years preceding the diſcovery, and imputable ſolely to the Obeah practice, he eſtimates at leaſt at 100 negroes.

OBEAH TRIALS.

"HAVING received ſome further information upon this ſubject, from another Jamaica gentleman, who ſat upon two trials, we beg leave to deliver the ſame in his own words, as a ſupplement to what we have already had the honour of ſubmitting.

"In the year 1760, the influence of the profeſſors of the Obeah art was ſuch, as to induce a great many of the negro ſlaves in Jamaica to engage in the rebellion which happened in that year, and which gave riſe to the law which was then made againſt the practice of Obi.

"Aſſurance was given to theſe deluded people, that they were to become invulnerable; and in order to render them ſo, the Obeah men furniſhed them with a powder, with which they were to rub themſelves.

"In the firſt engagement with the rebels, nine of them were killed, and many priſoners taken; amongſt the latter was one very intelligent fellow, who offered to diſcloſe many important matters, on

condition that his life ſhould be ſpared; which was promiſed. He then related the active part which the negroes, known among them by the name of Obeah men, had taken in propagating the inſurrection; one of whom was thereupon apprehended, tried (for rebellious conſpiracy), convicted, and ſentenced to death.

"N. B. This was the Koromantyn Obeah man alluded to in our firſt paper.

"At the place of execution, he bid defiance to the executioner, telling him, that "it was not in the "power of the white people to kill him." And the negroes (ſpectators) were greatly perplexed when they ſaw him expire. Upon other Obeah men, who were apprehended at that time, various experiments were made with electrical machines and magic lanterns, but with very little effect, except on one, who, after receiving ſome very ſevere ſhocks, acknowledged that "his maſter's Obi exceeded his own."

"The gentleman from whom we have this account, remembers having ſat twice on trials of Obeah men, who were both convicted of ſelling their Obeah preparations, which had occaſioned the death of the parties to whom they had been adminiſtered; notwithſtanding which, the lenity of their judges prevailed ſo far, that they were only puniſhed with tranſportation. To prove the fact, two witneſſes were deemed neceſſary, with corroborating circumſtances."

CHAPTER IV.

Means of obtaining Slaves in Africa—Obſervations thereon—Objections to a direct and immediate Abolition of the Trade by the Britiſh Nation only—The Conſequences of ſuch a Meaſure conſidered—Diſproportion of Sexes in the Negroes annually imported from Africa—Mode of tranſporting Negroes, and Regulations recently eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament—Effects of thoſe Regulations.

In calculating the ſupplies of negroes which might probably be collected from Africa by the various modes which are ſaid to be uſed for that purpoſe, we cannot aſſign a greater number than 74,000 individuals. It is left, therefore, to inquire by what means the remaining number are obtained. In anſwer to this inquiry, it has been ſtated by thoſe who are moſt minutely acquainted with the ſlave trade, that not only the people upon the coaſt, but alſo thoſe in the interior of Africa, are ſubjected to unlimited tyranny either of a monarchical or ariſtocratical kind; on which account the ſubjected ſlave very frequently, as a puniſhment for his crimes, is taken to the Guinea merchant, and if refuſed, is put to death. Thoſe fathers who are free themſelves, have unlimited power over their children; but in the few inſtances where ſuch power is converted to a bad purpoſe, the public deteſtation is very ſtrong againſt the vender of his children. The free man himſelf may, by many circumſtances, be degraded to the rank of a ſlave; ſuch as debt, adultery, and the ima-

ginary crime of obi or witchcraft; and in caſes of this nature, the friends of the accuſed are involved in a common fate.

The above account has been given by a number of witneſſes, but their evidence is diſputed in many points by witneſſes no leſs reſpectable. It has been aſſerted by Mr. Penny, among others, that except in the inſtance of delinquency, the African maſter is not allowed to take his ſlave to the market; and that by inteſtine war the greater proportion is procured. But Mr. Edwards, by the teſtimony of ſeveral negroes, whom he examined under ſuch circumſtances as leave no doubt that their evidence could be falſe, ſeems to have ſubſtantiated very diſtinctly the former allegation; namely, that the power and the practice of ſelling ſlaves, without the imputation of a crime, is common among the African maſters *.

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* We have ſubjoined a few of the relations of thoſe who were examined.

Adam, a Congo boy, who was ſtolen from his father's houſe, and who, after being marched down the country for the ſpace of a month, was ſold from one black merchant to another, ſometimes for one article, and ſometimes for another, till he came into the hands of the Guinea trader.

Quaw and Quamina, two brothers, aged 18 and 20, from the Gold Coaſt, on being aſked the cauſe of their being ſold, replied, That their maſter was in debt, and that they were ſold to relieve him.

Aſiba, a Gold Coaſt girl, was ſold by her maſter, along with ſome others, for a quantity of linen and other articles.

Yamouſa, a Chambie youth, was ſold by his poſſeſſor, along with a cow, for a gun and ſome other articles.

Mr. Edwards examined 25 young perſons of both ſexes, of whom 15 confeſſed they had been born to ſlavery in their own country, and five ſaid they had been kidnapped from home; and it appeared by the accounts of the other five that they had been the priſoners of internal war. It muſt be obſerved, that the evidence of theſe negroes is highly creditable, from its being taken by Mr. Edwards at various times, ſo that he had an opportunity of diſcovering if they enlarged upon the truth by the inconſiſtency of their narrations.

Such are the means by which the Weſt India iſlands are ſupplied with their African ſlaves. Every feeling mind will no doubt regret the exiſtence of a commerce which devotes ſo many human beings to be expatriated and enſlaved; but our horror is aſſuaged to remember, that of theſe the greater proportion only exchange to a milder ſlavery.

That the trade encourages a ſpirit of rapine among the natives cannot be denied; at the ſame time it deſerves conſideration, whether partially

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Oliver, from Aſientee, aged about 22, was the ſon of a free carpenter, and had been taken priſoner in an attack of the Frankees. He was transferred through the hands of ſix black merchants before he was ſold to the ſhipmaſter.

Eſther, a girl from the Ebo country, relates, That ſhe lived about a day's journey from the ſea coaſt; but being on a viſit to her grandmother, the village was attacked by a body of negroes (ſhe knows not of what nation), her grandmother, with the other aged perſons, were put to death, and herſelf taken to the coaſt, and ſold.

and ſuddenly to aboliſh the exiſtence of the commerce would not be productive of real diſadvantages, in place of effecting the end deſired by thoſe who are eager for ſuch ſtrong and ſpeedy meaſures? For ſolving this important queſtion, we muſt take into view, not only the ſituation of the ſlaves in Africa, but of thoſe already in the Weſt Indies.

In the *firſt* place, It is falſe reaſoning to ſuppoſe that Britain, withdrawing her ſhare from the general demand, will effect a decreaſe of the quantity brought to the market; for although in other kinds of commerce the ſupply is generally regulated by the demand, yet in this inſtance the rule will not hold. When two African ſtates are at war, the captives are dealt with in proportion to their ſtrength and appearance. The old and infirm are maſſacred on the ſpot; ſuch as are able to travel a long journey are led to the ſea-coaſt, and of theſe all who are rejected are immediately put to death. From this it appears, that were Britain to withdraw her demand, there would be left a ſuperabundance of about 38,000 every year, who, unleſs bought up by other nations, muſt inevitably be ſacrificed to the diſappointed avarice of the black trader. Inſtances, indeed, of this barbarous practice are ſo numerous, that they have been frequently perpetrated in ſight of our own ſhipping; ſo that in this caſe the remedy becomes abundantly more horrible than the diſeaſe.

Secondly, Let an unprejudiced mind reflect upon the ſituation of the remaining negroes, in the Weſt

Indies, who are ſuppoſed to continue in a ſtate of ſervitude. It is a fact too little attended to, that the diſparity between males and females is ſo great in theſe iſlands, that without a new ſupply of women the race muſt at laſt become extinct. Beſides, it ſhould be remembered, that numberleſs eſtates are burdened with covenants of ſupplying yearly to Britiſh merchants a certain quantity of rum and ſugar. Picture, then, the condition of a Weſt India planter perpetually dunned for his covenanted ſupply, and unable, with the utmoſt ſtretch of his induſtry, to effect his engagement with a decaying ſtock of labourers. The ſlaves themſelves will alſo gradually come to feel the hardſhip of ſuch an inſtitution. At firſt the work of 20 is performed by 19, till at laſt the taſk of that number becomes the taſk of a very few. In this caſe, they are either wrought beyond their ſtrength, or they are goaded into rebellion, or the planter is circumſcribed in the ground he lays under cultivation, and is thus incapacitated from the payment of his juſt debts. Theſe diſtreſſes are not drawn by the imagination; they exiſted in Demerara, in all their ſeverity, at the period when the prohibition was laid upon importing ſlaves.

It thus appears evident, that a direct abolition, effected by a ſingle nation, would neither abate the ſale of thoſe miſerable victims who are tranſported to the Weſt Indies, nor would it attenuate (nay, it would ſeverely augment) the hardſhips of thoſe who are there already. In addition to the above

forcible arguments, we may add this ſingle conſideration, which certainly merits very ſerious attention. As long as the mutual temptation to ſell and to buy ſlaves continues, there will very probably be both European purchaſers and African venders, in ſpite of all the deciſions even of Europe combined in a ſyſtem of reſtraining it. And it need hardly be called up to the remembrance of any man in the ſmalleſt acquainted with the Weſt Indies, that an attempt towards prohibiting illicit importation would be, from the nature of the country, impracticable and abſurd.

The mode of conveying the Africans from their own country to the Weſt Indies is a ſubject too important to be overlooked. Before entering upon this part, however, I ſhall offer a few obſervations on the diſproportion of ſexes, to which I before alluded. Mr. Barnes, a gentleman of very reſpectable authority, gives us the following ſenſible reaſons, which may evince that the diſparity is not the fault of the purchaſers, but that it originates from other cauſes.

"The diſproportion in the number of male and female ſlaves exported from Africa (ſays Mr. Barnes*) appears to me to be imputable to the three following cauſes: *Firſt*, To the practice of polygamy which prevails throughout Africa. *Secondly*, To ſome of the very cauſes of ſlavery itſelf; men are more apt to commit civil offences than women, and

* Report of the Committee of Council, 1789.

in all ſuch caſes, where males and females are involved in the ſame calamity, the firſt cauſe ſtill has its operation: the young females are kept for wives, and the males are ſold for ſlaves. *Thirdly*, To the circumſtance that females become unfit for the ſlave market at a much earlier period than the males. A woman, through child-bearing, may appear a very exceptionable ſlave at 22 or 23 years of age, whereas a healthy well-made man will not be objected to at 34 or 35; conſequently, if an equal number of males and females of like ages were offered for ſale, a much greater proportion of the females would be rejected on that account only. With regard to the queſtion, whether the European traders prefer purchaſing males rather than females? I have to obſerve, that though it is impoſſible to conduct the buſineſs, either of a houſe or of a plantation, without a number of females, yet as the nature of the ſlave ſervice in the Weſt Indies (being chiefly field labour) requires for the immediate intereſt of the planter, a greater number of males, the European trader would of courſe wiſh to purchaſe his aſſortment according to the proportion wanted; but the fact is, *he has not an option in the caſe*, for the reaſons already mentioned; ſo that in moſt parts of Africa it is with great difficulty he can get as many ſaleable females as will form any tolerable aſſortment."

During the late examination before the Privy Council, upon the ſubject of the ſlave trade, a number of ſhocking inſtances were given to prove that

the uſage of ſlaves on board the Guinea ſhips was inhuman and ſevere; but it has ſince appeared, that the aſſertors of theſe facts were men ſo diſreſpectable in character as to give but little recommendation to their ſtories. It is true, they are confined in irons, but that ſeverity is exerciſed in no greater degree than neceſſity requires, and the young women and children are not under the ſmalleſt reſtraint. They are lodged upon deck between clean boards, and their apartments are regularly fumigated and cleaned. The greateſt attention is paid to their health and their diet. Their meals are ſuch vegetables and grains as they have been accuſtomed to in their own country, which are agreeably ſeaſoned with ſauce of meat, fiſh, or palm oil. Every meal is as plentiful as they chooſe, and if the weather be cold or wet, is accompanied with a dram. To conclude, if they ſhould fall ſick, they are treated with tenderneſs and care, and are removed either to the captain's cabin or a place appointed for their reception in the forecaſtle.

By an act of the 28th of his preſent Majeſty, which has been ſince amended, ſtrict limitations have been made with reſpect to the proportion of the cargo to the ſlave-ſhip. They are alſo obliged to be provided with a regularly qualified ſurgeon, and a premium, of a very reſpectable amount, is held out to the ſurgeon and the maſter, if there be no more than a mortality of two in the hundred at the concluſion of their voyage.

We may form a favourable opinion of the effect

of thoſe benevolent inſtitutions, when it is mentioned as a ſingle inſtance of the melioration produced, that at Montego Bay, from 1789 to 1791, the average loſs of 38 Guineamen was ſomewhat leſs than ſeven per cent. Of theſe, eight were entitled to the full reward of 50 for only two per cent. mortality; two received a half premium, and one ſchooner had not a ſingle loſs during her voyage. But perhaps a more ſtriking illuſtration of the point ariſes from the fall of the mortality in the Weſt Indian harbours: Of 9993 negroes imported into Montego in the ſpace before mentioned, the loſs was not quite three-fourths per cent.

It muſt be, however, confeſſed, that in ſpite of all theſe precautions a dreadful mortality frequently prevails on board the Guinea ſhips. The miſchief muſt be aſcribed to its proper cauſe, which, to the diſgrace of humanity, is nothing elſe than the avarice of the ſhipmaſters in purchaſing more than their veſſel is calculated to accommodate. One is not ſorry to find that they meet with a very ſevere reward, ſince, by ſuch injuſtice, they frequently fruſtrate their own hopes; but to reflect that this loſs of property is at the expence of ſo many innocent lives, muſt affect every feeling mind with horror and indignation *.

Without endeavouring, however, to palliate ſuch acts of iniquity, it may perhaps appear upon in-

* The loſs is frequently 15 per cent. in the voyage, and four and a half at the Weſt Indian harbours.

quiry, that abolition is neither the ſole nor the beſt reſource for putting a ſtop to the exerciſe of this avaricious barbarity. Regulations have been made, and have of late been ſtrenuouſly renewed, which ſeem to bid fair for effecting the wiſhed for cure. The Weſt India planters, upon whom ſo much odium has been undeſervedly thrown, are wholly unconcerned with any errors that may ariſe in the management of the ſlave cargoes. On a late occaſion, they evinced their diſintereſtedneſs; for the aſſembly of Jamaica, diſregarding any addition that might be made to the price of ſlaves from the acts of parliament paſſed in favour of negroes, concurred in the general wiſh for correcting the errors of the trade, and even entered with zeal in the cauſe of reformation.

We have now treated of the means by which the Guinea traders are enabled to ſtore their ſhips, and the regulations which have been adopted by the Britiſh parliament for the more comfortable conveyance of theſe ſlaves from the coaſt; it remains, therefore, to ſpeak, in the next chapter, of their treatment, ſituation, and diſtribution among the Weſt India planters.

CHAPTER V.

Arrival and Sale in the Weſt Indies—Negroes newly Purchaſed—How Diſpoſed of and Employed—Detail of the Management of Negroes on a Sugar Plantation—Mode of obtaining them—Houſes, Clothing, and Medical Care—Abuſes—Late Regulations for their Protection and Security—Cauſes of their Annual Decreaſe—Polygamy, &c.—Slavery in its Mildeſt Form Unfriendly to Population—General Obſervations—Propoſals for the further Meliorating the Condition of Slaves, with which the ſubject concludes.

WHEN a Guinea ſhip arrives in the Weſt Indies, it is announced by public advertiſement. The ſales, which formerly took place on board the ſhip, are now (moſt properly) conducted on ſhore, and care is taken that no cruel ſeparation of relations ſhould take place. It is obvious, however, that notwithſtanding the beſt intentions, ſuch melancholy accidents ſhould ſometimes occur; but there are ſeldom inſtances of purchaſers willingly dividing the members of a family.

To behold a number of human beings, naked, captive, exiled and expoſed for ſale, muſt, at firſt ſight, affect the mind with melancholy reflections; but the victims themſelves ſeem to be hardly conſcious of their ſituation. The circumſtance of being expoſed, is to them no way diſagreeable; they have not been accuſtomed, under their own intolerable climate, to wear any quantity of clothes, nor are they deſtitute of decorations, on which they ſet

a higher value than we are accuſtomed to do on the more elegant articles of apparel *.

In the market they diſplay few indications of being deeply affected with their fate. Appriſed of the intention of their owners to ſell them, they diſplay impatience to be purchaſed; and when any one of their number is ſo unfortunate as to be rejected, on account of ſome perſonal defect, the reſt expreſs their deriſion by loud and repeated laughter.

The negro, when ſold, is provided with the articles which are in future to conſtitute his dreſs, and ſent off to the plantation where he is to reſide †.

At this period, they are uſually conſigned in different lots as penſioners on the proviſion-ground of the negroes already ſettled, an allowance being made for their ſubſiſtence. At firſt ſight this cuſtom may appear a harſh impoſition on the induſtry of the eſtabliſhed ſlave, who muſt ſhare his hardly-earned property with others newly imported. But, on due conſideration of the caſe, and principally from appealing to the choice of the negro, it has been found to be rather a favour than a diſadvantage. The

* The negroes are alſo fond of impreſſing ſcars upon their faces, which they imagine contribute to their better appearance. Indeed, the practice of tattowing is very common among them. Ignorant declaimers on the ſlave trade have falſely attributed theſe marks to the inhumanity of their maſters.

† In 1791, the prices of negroes were as follow: An able man in his prime, 50l.; an able woman, 49l.; a young man, 47l.; a young woman, 46l.; boys and girls, from 45l. to 40l. Sterling, beſides the duty. The practice of marking them is pretty much in diſuſe.

ſettled negro forms a ſtrong attachment to the youth who is thus conſigned to his patronage, and the affection is perfectly reciprocal. On the ſide of the young ſtranger it conſtitutes a renovation of the ſociety of his countrymen, which muſt certainly pleaſe more than to be conſigned to the care of a white; and, on the other hand, the old negro is delighted to ſpend his old age among his adopted children, whoſe ſociety muſt alſo awaken his mind to a pleaſing remembrance of his youthful days.

The above practice is common to Weſt Indian eſtates of all kinds; but, in the following reflections, I ſhall confine myſelf chiefly to the economy of ſugar plantations. On theſe eſtates, the labourers are uſually ſeparated into three gangs. The firſt conſiſts of the ſtrongeſt individuals, men and women, of the whole ſtock, whoſe occupation is to clear the ground, plant and cut the canes, and attend the proceſs of ſugar-making. The ſecond ſet conſiſts of the younger negroes and convaleſcents, whoſe chief employment is weeding, or any ſuch light exerciſe. The third group is the children, ſuperintended by old women, who pull green meat for the cattle, or weed in the garden.

The firſt gang is ſummoned before ſun-riſe to their labour, and are attended by a driver. They work two or three hours, and then are allowed half an hour for breakfaſt, which conſiſts of boiled roots or vegetables, highly ſeaſoned. At noon they are indulged with two hours of refreſhment. At two o'clock they reſume their taſks, from which they are

releaſed at ſun-ſet; and, if their labour has been hard, or the day wet, they are granted an allowance of rum. Thus their whole labour amounts to no more than ten hours a-day, Sundays and holidays excepted *. It is true, at the crop ſeaſon, they are obliged to ſubmit to night attendance on the ſugar-making; but from being divided into watches, and plentifully fed with ſyrup and ripe canes, they preſerve their health remarkably well.

The judicious plan of exciting the induſtry of the negro, by aſſigning him a certain portion of land to cultivate, is now become exceedingly common. The ſlave thus is tranſmuted into a ſort of tenant, and the ſurplus of his gains accrue to gratify his palate, and clothe him well. In Jamaica, where ground is plenty, the effects of this are greatly felt; and to prevent the miſchief which might ariſe from that fooliſh propenſity of the negroes to rear articles of food precarious from the hurricanes, every proprietor is bound to have an acre of proviſion-ground for every ſlave, excluſive of the other grants he may give.

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* Beſides holidays and Saturdays, the negroes in Jamaica are allowed one day in a fortnight for cultivating their own ground. Some of them allot this day to the manufacturing of coarſe articles, which they ſell at the market of Kingſton. At this place they are ſeen to aſſemble on Sundays to the number of ten thouſand, where they exchange their hand-work for ſalted beef and iron, or fine linen, or ornaments for their wives. There is never an inſtance of a maſter interfering with the property of the negro which his induſtry has acquired.

The negroes commonly aſſemble their cottages into villages, which, being interſperſed with fruit trees, produce a pleaſing proſpect. Whatever idea an Engliſhman might form of their huts, they certainly are (conſidering climate) more comfortable lodgings than the ordinary abodes of the Scotch or Iriſh peaſantry. The building is commonly from 15 to 20 feet in length, and is reared of hard poſts interlined with wattles. The roof is of cocoa or palm leaf, and completely ſhelters it from the rain. The bedſtead, the table, two or three ſtools, a jar, and ſome calabaſhes, compoſe the furniture, and their cookery is conducted in the open air. But however indifferent the furniture of the ordinary ſlave may be, the tradeſman and domeſtic are much better provided, when their own private property has made them independent of their maſter's bounty. The clothing of the negro is ſupplied by a daily allowance of Oſnaburgh linen, woollen cloths, &c. from his proprietor. Their common garb is, to be ſure, far from being good; but on holidays they contrive to appear not only decent, but even gaudy.

A very principal circumſtance, and which muſt greatly conduce to the comfort of the negro, is the regular attention paid to their health. Every plantation is attended by a ſkilful practitioner in the healing art; for the planters being in general men of information, do not permit ſuch ill-qualified practitioners as abound in England.

The moſt loathſome diſeaſes which are prevalent

among the negroes, are the cacaby and the yaws. The former is a dreadful diſtemper, ſuppoſed to be the leproſy mentioned in ſcripture; the latter, which is infectious, if it attack adults, is ſeldom capable of cure; but children often paſs through it, on which account they are frequently inoculated for it like the ſmall-pox.

Beſides theſe, we ought not to omit mentioning a ſpecies of the tetanus, or lock-jaw, ſo fatally incurable among children; and the ſtomach-evil, more common to thoſe advanced in life. The unhappy victim of this diſorder feels a continual craving for earth, which he eats greedily. It was common, at one period, among the brutal overſeers, to puniſh this propenſity with the laſh.

Invalids, and women in labour, are accommodated with hoſpitals and nurſes, and, where the proprietor is a man of generoſity, with even the more expenſive cordials that alleviate diſtreſs. On the whole, make allowance for a few circumſtances which time will in all probability remedy, and the negro ſlave may be pronounced happier than one half the peaſantry of Europe.

The reader who wiſhes to draw a parallel between the peaſant of Europe and the Weſt Indian ſlave, cannot find a more ſenſible compariſon than what is given by Baron Wimpffen, in letters from St. Domingo.

Speaking of the negro, "It is certain," ſays that author, "that, thanks to the climate, which reduces their wants to a mere trifle; thanks to edu-

cation, which leaves them ignorant of rights and enjoyments, of which they can form no idea; thanks to the thoughtleſſneſs of their character, and the fickleneſs of their humour; and, laſtly, to the intereſt which their owners have in their well-doing, the lot of a negro ſlave, all things conſidered, and eſpecially when he has the happineſs of belonging to a maſter who does not meaſure his humanity by his avarice, is preferable to that of the peaſantry of a great part of Europe.—Let us deſcend to particulars.

" Without any other property than the uncertain retribution of an uncertain labour; or with a property which nothing but the moſt active induſtry can render equal to his neceſſities, the ſubſiſtence of the peaſant, and a family, frequently numerous, depends from day to day on accident, on the ſtate of his health, and on a number of circumſtances, which it either is not in his power to foreſee, or which, if foreſeen, prove a new ſource of wretchedneſs. View him alternately humbled by the proſperity, always humiliating, of his equals; by the pride of his ſuperiors; by the compariſon of his poverty with their opulence; and, finally, by all the diſtinctions which compoſe the long chain of ſubordination, of which he is always the laſt link.

" He is free, it is true, at leaſt he is taught to believe ſo; but what is this liberty for a man, who, in whatever direction he attempts to move, is either detained, or puſhed back into the circle of wretchedneſs from which he hoped to eſcape; now

by the want of means, which only renders his poverty doubly poignant; and now by the opinion of the world, which makes him but the more ſenſible of his own nullity.

" He is certainly, if not better, at leaſt more clad than the negro: but the negro has no need of clothes. The habit which with the one is merely an article of luxury, is with the other an object of indiſpenſable neceſſity.

" The cottage of the one is larger, and better furniſhed than the caſa of the other; but its reparations, and its moveables alone abſorb no inconſiderable part of his earnings: it muſt be repaired in ſummer, it muſt be warmed in winter.

" The one can only provide food and raiment, diſcharge his taxes, &c. with ſpecie, difficult to be procured; but of which the other has no need.

" The European, by dint of labour, of numerous privations, and of unremitting induſtry, has ſcarcely ſucceeded in acquiring a moment's eaſe, before a melancholy preſage of the future intervenes, and blaſts his fugitive delights. He muſt think of his children, who are growing up, and of old age which is faſt approaching. If he looks round he ſees his own wants multiplied in each of the individuals who call upon him for ſhelter, food, and raiment. If he turns an eye upon himſelf, he beholds the enervated arms which will ſhortly ſupport him no more in the combat he has ſtill to wage with poverty—even after a ſtruggle of threeſcore years!

"The negro, too, has his ſufferings; I do not wiſh to deny it: but, exonerated of the care of providing for himſelf for the preſent, and for his family hereafter, he ſuffers leſs from the hardſhips neceſſarily attached to his condition, than from the privation of certain enjoyments.

"The unhappineſs of the latter therefore is, if I may ſo expreſs myſelf, local and negative: that of the former univerſal and poſitive. It is diffuſed over all his exiſtence, and over all his connections; over the future as well as the preſent. The perception of what he ſuffers, and the remembrance of what he has ſuffered, inceſſantly admoniſh him of the ſufferings he has yet to undergo!

"When the negro has eaten his banana he goes to ſleep—and though a hurricane deſtroy the hopes of the planter; though fire conſume the buildings erected at a vaſt expence; though ſubterraneous commotions ingulph whole cities; though the ſcourge of war ſpread devaſtation over our plains, or ſtrew the ocean with the wrecks of our ſcattered fleets—what is all this to him! Enveloped in his blanket, and tranquilly ſeated on the ruins, he ſees with the ſame eye, the ſmoke which exhales from his pipe, and the torrents of flame which devour the proſpects of a whole generation!"

That the more cruel circumſtances in the lot of the negro have continued and will continue to be gradually alleviated, appears from the interference of the legiſlature of late in their behalf. It likewiſe appears, from numerous inſtances, that in caſes

where the cruelty of the maſter to his ſlave has been brought to light, the vengeance of the law has been juſtly exerciſed upon the offender. It will readily, however, occur to the reader, that in a country where the evidence of a negro is not taken, the law can only, in very peculiar circumſtances, afford a ſhelter to the ſlave from the vindictive ſpirit of his maſter, ſhould he unfortunately fall into the hands of ſuch a proprietor. That all the narratives of whippings, mutilations, &c. of ſlaves, which have been told in Europe, are abſolutely falſe, would be an improper aſſertion; but allowance muſt be made for exaggeration ſo ſeldom disjoined from a deſcription; and in general terms it may be aſſerted, that the treatment of Weſt Indian ſlaves is mild and indulgent *.

" A lady, whom I have ſeen, a young lady, and

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* It may appear a mark of diſreſpect to the authority of Mr. Edwards, to ſubjoin in this place, a quotation which deciſively proves him to have given an account of the uſage of the negroes by far too favourable. But the cauſe of truth demands more reſpect than Mr. Edwards; and though it be deviating from the direct line of my ſubject, I ſhould deem it unjuſt not to contraſt Mr. Edwards's evaſive confeſſion of Weſt Indian cruelty, with ſome facts drawn from the reſpectable authority of the writer lately quoted, Baron Wimpffen. Mr. Edwards informs us, that the treatment of the negroes is mild over all the Weſt Indies. Let any one peruſe the ſubjoined ſpecimens of barbarity, and pronounce whether, in a country where ſuch cruelty is perpetrated, where ſuch monſters are permitted to live, the unhappy being who is ſubjected to the bare poſſibility of ſubmitting to their capricious revenge can be ſaid to be mildly treated?

one of the handſomeſt in the iſland, gave a grand dinner. Furious at ſeeing a diſh of paſtry brought to the table overdone, ſhe ordered her negro cook to be ſeized, and *thrown into the oven, yet glowing with heat*——And this horrible Megæra, whoſe name I ſuppreſs out of reſpect to her family; this infernal fiend whom public execration ought to drive with every mark of abhorrence from ſociety; this worthy rival of the *too famous* Chaperon *, is followed and admired——for ſhe is rich and beautiful!

" So much for what I have heard, and now for what I have ſeen.

" The day after my return, I was walking before the caſa of a planter with one of his neighbours, when we overheard him bid a negro go into the encloſure of this very neighbour, pull up two young trees which he pointed out to him, and replant them immediately on a terrace he was then forming.

" The negro went: the neighbour followed him, ſurpriſed him in the fact, and brought him to his maſter, whom I had by this time joined, in the hope of witneſſing a ſcene of confuſion which promiſed to be amuſing.

" Conceive, Sir, what paſſed in my mind, when, on the complaint of the neighbour, I heard the

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* A planter of St. Domingo, who, in the ſame circumſtances, ſeeing the heat ſhrivel and draw open the lips of the unhappy negro, exclaimed in a fury, " The raſcal laughs."

maſter coldly order another of his negroes to tie the pretended culprit to a ladder, and give him an hundred laſhes! We were both of us ſtruck with ſuch aſtoniſhment, that, ſtupified, pale, and ſhuddering, while the unhappy negro received the barbarous chaſtiſement in ſilence, we looked at one another without being able to utter a ſingle word —And he who ordered, he who thus puniſhed his own crime on the blind inſtrument of his will; at once the daſtardly perpetrator and the unfeeling witneſs of the moſt atrocious injuſtice, is here one of the firſt organs of the law, the official protector of innocence! Heavens! if a pitiful reſpect for decorum forbids me to devote the name of this monſter to eternal infamy, let me at leaſt be permitted to hope that Divine Juſtice will hear the cries of the ſufferer, and ſooner or later accumulate on the tyrant's head all the weight of its vengeance!"

To the honour of the legiſlature of Jamaica, they have inſtituted a council of protection, expreſsly for the purpoſe of examining into the cruelties committed upon negroes; and whenever a complaint, or probable intelligence, is received of any unjuſt puniſhments, the ſtricteſt inquiry is made. Beſides this humane inſtitution, the ſurgeon of every plantation is required to give in an annual account of the increaſe and decreaſe of the ſlaves, declaring, in the caſe of decreaſe, the cauſe which his own unbiaſed opinion leads him to aſcribe.

The grand argument againſt the continuation of

ſlavery in the Weſt Indies, undoubtedly is the waſte of life which it occaſions; and that the iſlands, unable to ſupply themſelves with the offspring of the ſlaves they already poſſeſs, are forced to depopulate Africa, by a continuation of the trade. What has been formerly brought forward upon the vaſt diſparity between the males and females among the negroes, is in part an anſwer to this objection. But it ſhould alſo be mentioned, that the practice of polygamy, which ſubſiſts among the blacks, operates as another very powerful cauſe of decreaſing population. It may be, perhaps, ſuppoſed that the influence of legal prohibition might conduce to obviate this unfortunate circumſtance; but any one who is acquainted with the habits and temper of a negro, would pronounce it impracticable to reform the evil. No hardſhip could be impoſed upon him more ſevere (in his eſtimation) than an obligation of fidelity to one object. The natural conſequence of this ſuperiority of number in the males, is abandoned profligacy in the other ſex, whoſe irregular habits expoſe them to continual abortions.

It need not be denied that ſlavery itſelf is a very powerful circumſtance in producing thinneſs of numbers. Sentiment muſt combine with inſtinct, before the offspring of man becomes an object of due regard; and that is a quality ſeldom abundant in a ſlave.

Numberleſs ſchemes have, at various times, been preſented to the public upon the favourite ſubject of improving the condition of theſe people. The

moſt commendable plan that could be followed to accompliſh this end, would be, in the firſt place, to aſſign to the labourer a certain and fixed taſk for the day; after the performance of which, all the reſt of the day ſhould remain at his own diſpoſal, and liberal encouragement might be held out to employ the ſpare time to his own advantage. Their property acquired thus, ſhould be carefully watched over by the laws; and to accuſtom them to right notions of juſtice between man and man, they ought to be made arbiters in diſputes among themſelves, and conſtituted into juries. Beſides, the day of reſt ſhould be more religiouſly obſerved than their eſtabliſhed cuſtoms have taught them to do. The Sabbath, inſtead of being a day of market, ſhould be to them a ceſſation from all employment, and an opportunity for mental improvement. By obſerving theſe modes of improvement, and equalizing the ſexes, by importing more females from Africa, the condition of the ſlave would gradually meliorate, and the ſlave trade ceaſe to exiſt.

But the grand evil which demands to be removed, and which is too notorious to admit a ſhadow of palliation, remains to be mentioned. It is in vain to inſtitute regulations in favour of the ſlave, whilſt he continues expoſed to the dreadful hardſhip of being ſold off the property to which he belongs, to defray the debts of his proprietor, after he has become attached to the ſoil, and ſomewhat enriched by his induſtry. When the good negro has been comfortably ſettled upon the proviſion-ground, which affords

him, beſides ſubſiſtence, ſome luxuries of life, he may be ſeparated from his wife and family, ſold by auction, and dragged to the mines of Mexico, where, excluded from the light of heaven, he ſuffers, unheard of and unpitied, not for his own guilt, but for the misfortunes of his maſter. Let this iniquitous law be therefore aboliſhed; let the negro be ſold along with the property to which he is attached, but in no other manner. The injuſtice of hurrying away the unhappy victim of his maſter's failure and debts, to regions where ſlavery exiſts in its moſt frightful aſpect, admits of no arguments, and no palliation. Cruelties of a different nature, though ſevere in themſelves, happen unfrequently, and are therefore much leſs to be dreaded; but, while the ſyſtem remains as it is, there is no end to the continuance of this miſery.

BOOK V.

AGRICULTURE.

CHAPTER I.

Sugar Cane—Known to the Ancients—Conjectures concerning its Introduction into Europe—Conveyed from Sicily to the Azores, &c. in the 15th Century, and from thence to the Weſt Indies—Evidence that Columbus himſelf carried it from the Canary Iſlands to Hiſpaniola—Summary of Labat's Reaſoning to ſhow that it was found growing ſpontaneouſly in the Weſt Indies—Both Accounts reconciled—Botanical Name and Deſcription—Soils beſt adapted for its Cultivation, and their Varieties deſcribed—Uſe and Superiority of the Plough—Method of Boiling and Planting.

THE ſugar cane arreſts the principal regard of any one who attends to the agriculture of the Weſt Indies. Sugar was by the ancients denominated *ſaccharum*, transformed by the monks into *zucharum*, and from thence at laſt converted into its Engliſh name. Sugar, from the teſtimony of Lucan, was well known to the ancients, and probably found its way from the eaſt at a very early period. From the Holy Land, where it was well known to the Cruſaders, it made its way to the Morea and iſlands in the Archipelago; from thence to the iſland of Sicily;

and from Sicily it appears to have been tranſplanted by the Spaniards to the Azores, Madeira, Canary, and Cape de Verde Iſles. Hiſtorians diſpute about the time when it was tranſported to the Weſt Indies; but, from the moſt probable teſtimony, it ſeems to have been introduced thither by Columbus himſelf; for we are informed by Martyr, that upon his arrival at the Weſt Indies, he ſaw no plants or trees with which he was acquainted, except the pine and the elm. Now, it is well aſcertained, that the cane was well known in Europe previous to the diſcoveries of Columbus; and it is ſingular, that if it had exiſted in the Weſt Indies, Columbus ſhould not have found it.

Other hiſtorians, however, aſſert, that the cane is a native of America, and was found growing ſpontaneouſly in all regions of the newly diſcovered hemiſphere. Among the authors who adopt this ſide of the queſtion, is P. Labat, who, in ſupport of his argument, informs us that Gage, an Engliſh voyager, gives an account of ſugar canes being preſented, among other articles, to the crew of his ſhip by the Charaibes of Guadaloupe. The Spaniards, continues the ſame author, had at that period never cultivated an inch of ground in the Smaller Antilles. Their ſhips, indeed, commonly touched at the iſlands for wood and water; and they left ſwine for the benefit of ſuch of their countrymen as might occaſionally land there again. But it is abſurd, in the higheſt degree, to ſuppoſe that they would plant ſugar canes, and at the ſame time put hogs aſhore to deſtroy

them. Neither had the Spaniards any motive for beſtowing this plant upon iſlands which they conſidered as of no kind of importance, except for the purpoſe we have mentioned; and to ſuppoſe that the Charaibes might have cultivated, after their departure, a production of which they knew nothing, betrays total ignorance of the Indian diſpoſition and character.

The ſame author continues his arguments in the following words: "We have ſurer teſtimony, and ſuch as proves beyond the poſſibility of contradiction, that the ſugar cane is the indigenous production of America. For, beſides the evidence of Francis Ximenes, who, in a treatiſe on American plants, printed at Mexico, aſſerts, that the ſugar cane grows without cultivation, and to an extraordinary ſize, on the banks of the river Plate. We are aſſured by Jean de Lary, a Proteſtant miniſter, who was chaplain, in 1556, to the Dutch garriſon in the fort of Coligny, on the river Janeiro, that he himſelf found ſugar canes in great abundance on the banks of that river, and in ſituations never viſited by the Portugueſe. Father Hennepan, and other voyagers, bear teſtimony, in a ſimilar manner, to the growth of the cane near the mouth of the Miſſiſſippi, and Jean de Laet to its ſpontaneous production in the Iſland of St. Vincent. It is not, therefore, for the plant itſelf, but for the ſecret of making ſugar from it, that the Weſt Indies are indebted to the Spaniards, and theſe to the nations of the eaſt."

Theſe ſeemingly contradictory aſſertions are not however totally irreconcileable. Canes might have

grown in the Weſt Indies, and yet have been alſo carried thither by Columbus; but, at any rate, the induſtry of the ancient Spaniards muſt have far exceeded the moderns; ſince, in the year 1535, thiry ſugar mills were eſtabliſhed.

The ſugar cane is a ſtrong yellow coloured and jointed reed, terminating in leaves, and containing a pithy juice, of a ſweet the moſt agreeable in nature. The general diſtance between the knots of the cane is from one to three inches, and the reed is uſually an inch in diameter. The height of the cane varies with the mould, but is in general from three to ſeven feet; and below, it ſhoots into ſtoles or ſuckers *. The cane thrives on various ſoils; but it appears to agree beſt with that which is exceedingly rich. St. Chriſtopher's contains the moſt excellent ſoil in this reſpect. The ſoil called brick mould in Jamaica claims the next rank. It is deep, warm, and eaſily wrought; and has the ſingular quality of requiring no trenching, even in the wetteſt weather. In the French part of St. Domingo, this ſoil greatly abounds, and gives a prodigious value to the property. In favourable ſeaſons it has frequently returned two tons and a half of ſugar for the cane plants of an acre. The black mould is of dif-

* On the top of the cane there often riſes an arrow, which contains a white ſeed; but this never vegetates when ſown: A ſort of proof that the cane is not indigenous to the ſoil.

N. B. There are other ſpecies of cane beſides this. Captain Bligh brought home one from the South Sea, which was in length far greater than that of the Weſt Indian production.

ferent kinds, which it were needleſs to particularize. We ought not, however, to paſs over that other ſpecies, chiefly found in the pariſh of Trelawny, in Jamaica, known by its peculiar aptitude for thoſe ſugars which are to be refined. It has a gloſſy and ſhining appearance; and when ſpecimens of it are dried, they greatly reſemble gamboge. Though deep, it is not heavy, and naturally dry. It is chiefly to be uſed for what are called ratoon canes; that is, the ſuckers from the roots which have been previouſly cut for ſugar.

In the cultivation of other lands the plough has been uſed, which, though advantageous, is, I fear, from the nature of the lands, incapable of becoming univerſal. It is, however, ſurpriſing, that the practice of hough-croſs ploughing, and round ridging, harrowing the ſame lands, ſhould have come to prevail among the proprietors of Jamaica. Undoubtedly a much better management is to plough in the ſpring, leave the land fallow in the ſummer, and then hole, after the ancient method, in autumn. But the advantages of the plough are ineſtimable. The labour of one man, three boys, and eight oxen, with a common ſingle-wheeled plough, by returning the ploughſhare along the back of the furrow, will eaſily hole 20 acres in 13 days.

When the old laborious mode of holing is practiſed, the proceſs is as follows: The land being cleared and weeded, is divided into plots of 15 or 20 acres, with intervals for roads between. Each part is ſubdivided into ſquares of three feet and a half by

a line and wooden pegs. You place the negroes in a row in the firſt line. The labourers are ordered to begin with the diviſions of the firſt line, and proceed backwards, making in each hole an excavation of 15 inches in width at the bottom, and two feet and a half at the top. When the trenches are formed, the cane is placed longitudinally in the cane-hole, and covered to the depth of two inches. In 12 or 14 days the ſprouts appear, ſo that it is neceſſary to ſupply them with new earth, till, in the courſe of four or five months, the banks are completely levelled. At this time it is of the greateſt importance that the overſeer ſhould be punctual in frequently cleaning them, and alſo in removing the lateral ſuckers which draw ſo much nouriſhment from the plant.

The cane ought to be planted between the beginning of Auguſt and November. Canes which are planted after this time, loſing the advantage of the autumnal rains, never ſprout till May, when they riſe both at joints and ſuckers. Thoſe planted late in ſpring are ſeldom more fortunate; and the January plant introduces diſorder into the period of the crops: beſides, being cut in wet weather, they are apt to ſpring afreſh, and have an unconnected juice. Indeed, no error can be more egregious than to miſtime the returns of the crop. An eſtate being like a complicated machine, whoſe parts muſt act always in uniſon with one another, before its effect can be properly produced. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that the Weſt Indian planter (even allowing his pru-

dence to be capable of avoiding every procedure connected with misfortune, and of adopting the wiſeſt plans for the regulation of his eſtate) is liable to calamities which no foreſight can obviate, and no management prevent. The chief of theſe calamities is called the Blaſt, (the Aphe of Linnæus), which conſiſts of myriads of little animals inviſible to the naked eye. Searching for their food in the juice, theſe minute ravagers wound the blades, and check the circulation of the fluid till the cane withers and dies. Beſides theſe (though leſs generally deſtructive), we may mention the grub, called the Borer, and another known in Tobago by the name of the Jumper Fly. The firſt mentioned plague, namely the Blaſt, I am informed, is never found in thoſe plantations where the *formica omnivora*, or carnivorous ant is prevalent. Whether this be authenticated, I cannot deciſively pronounce; but it is certain this little ant exterminates almoſt every ſmaller inſect. Spaniſh hiſtorians have, indeed, told us wonderful ſtories about the ravages of this ant, but I am inclined to believe they are perfectly exaggerated.

The method of manuring lands in the Weſt Indies is performed by five compoſitions, viz. coal and vegetable aſhes, feculencies from the ſtill-houſe, refuſe, or field traſh, dung obtained from ſtables, and, laſtly, mould from gullies and other waſte places.

As to the firſt mode of manuring, when the land is wet, I imagine the effect of the aſhes muſt be very ſalutary; but upon the generality of ſoil it ſeems

by no means uſeful, ſince it has been found undiſſolved in the land when opened up at the diſtance of five years. But the beſt of all manures is undoubtedly by having the cattle-pen moveable from one field to another, the urine operating very powerfully. This mode may be depended upon in all grounds, but ſuch as are worn out with cultivation. It is a common practice, after a field of canes has been cut, to ſet fire to the ſtubble, by which means, it is imagined, that a valuable manure is obtained. Such a practice in moiſt grounds may poſſibly do neither good nor ill; but in the generality of ſoil fitted for ſugar, nine times out of ten it muſt do poſitive harm.

But, notwithſtanding all theſe varieties in the mode of manuring, much might yet be done. Manures of ſea-ſand and lime are uſed in Britain with advantage, and might certainly be of equal advantage here. The ſame remark applies to marl, of which a ſoft and unctuous kind abounds in Jamaica. It may be aſked why the experiment has never been made? The anſwer is eaſy, In the Weſt Indies, agents and ſervants have neither time nor means to apply themſelves to any novelty in agriculture; practice is their only guide, and continuation in the beaten tract their only object.

It is now time to conduct the reader into ſcenes of a different kind, that he may contemplate the manufacture of that commodity whoſe culture we have now deſcribed.

CHAPTER II.

Crop Time, the Seaſon of Health and Feſtivity—Mills for grinding the Canes—Of the Cane-Juice and its component Parts—Proceſs for obtaining Raw or Muſcavedo Sugar—Melaſſes, and its Diſpoſal—Proceſs of making Clayed Sugar—Of Rum, Still-Houſes and Stills—Ciſterns and their Ingredients—Windward Iſland Proceſs—Jamaica Method of Double Diſtillation—Due Quantity of Rum from a given Quantity of Sweets aſcertained and ſtated.

As ſoon as the ſugar-mill is ſet in action, the ſickly looks of ſuch of the negroes as have been hitherto indiſpoſed, are changed into an aſpect of health and vigour. The horſes, the oxen, and mules, even the pigs and poultry, partake of the general feaſt, and fatten ſuprifingly upon the tops and refuſe. A ſpectator cannot contemplate this ſcene of induſtry and plenty without emotions of ſympathetic pleaſure.

That ſugar ſhould operate ſo wonderfully upon the animal economy, as to raiſe it in a few weeks from ſickneſs to vigour, may ſeem ſurprifing to thoſe who regard it as unproductive of nutrition. But the benefits of this plant have been explained by thoſe of an oppoſite creed in medicine with ſuch convincing arguments, that its utility ſeems now to be little diſputed. He (ſays old Hare, a phyſician of ſome diſtinction) who attempts to argue againſt ſweets in general, takes upon him a very difficult taſk; for nature ſeems to have recommended this taſte to all ſorts of animals. The birds of the air, the beaſts of the field, many reptiles and flies, ſeem

to be pleaſed and delighted with the ſpecific reliſh of all ſweets, and to diſtaſte its contrary. Now, the cane or ſugar I hold for the higheſt ſtandard of vegetable ſweets. To the influence of ſugar may be, in a great meaſure, aſcribed the extinction of the ſcurvy, the plague, and many other diſeaſes formerly epidemical.

The ſugar-mill is a ſimple machine; it conſiſts principally of three upright cylinders, plated with iron, from 30 to 40 inches in length, and from 20 to 25 inches in diameter. The canes are twice compreſſed through theſe rollers; for, after being paſſed through the firſt and ſecond, they are fixed to the middle one by a frame called the Dumb Returner, and then ſqueezed back till they are pulverized between the other rollers again. The receiver of the juice is a leaden bed, and the refuſe, called Cane-traſh, is uſed for fuel.

Jamaica has of late been indebted to Mr Woolery for an ingenious improvement upon the conſtruction of the ſugar-mill, viz. the addition of a lantern-wheel, fixed to the middle cylinder, with wallowers or trundles. The effect of this is to produce, during the work of an hour, in place of 300 or 350 gallons, 500 gallons, ſuppoſing ten mules are employed. Deducting four hours out of 24 for loſs, this yields per day 10,000 gallons, which by computation amounts to 36 hogſheads of 16 cwt. of ſugar per week.

The cane-juice is compoſed of one part of pure water, one of ſugar, one of groſs oil and mucilagi-

nous gum, with a portion of eſſential oil. This is a medium eſtimation, for the proportions vary in juices of different qualities. Other ſubſtances ſometimes enter the green tops when ground, and occaſion fermentation in the liquor. The ligneous part of the cane is frequently found mixed with it, and the cruſt or black coat which ſurrounds it between the joints, from the blackneſs of its colour, is apt to have ſome effect in diminiſhing the value of the ſugar.

The juice runs from the receiver to the boiling-houſe in a gutter of wood, lead-lined, and is received again into the copper clarifiers. Of theſe there are three, the ſize of which muſt entirely depend upon the celerity with which it is neceſſary to diſpatch the manufactory of the canes. When the grinding mills ſupply very rapidly, there are clarifiers capable of holding 1000 gallons; but in general they do not each exceed a third part of that ſize. When the clarifier ſtands at one of the boiling-houſes, the *teache*, or a boiler capable of holding from 70 to 100 gallons, is placed at the other end, and between theſe there ſtand three other boilers, which diminiſh in ſize as they reach from the boiler to the clarifier. When the clarifier has been filled with liquor from the receiver, in order to get rid of the ſuperabundant acid, the *temper* is ſtirred into it, which is uſually Briſtol white-lime. To effect a ſeparation of this acid, it is a common practice to allow to an hundred gallons of liquor a pint of Briſtol lime. This occaſions a black calx to be precipitated to the bottom of the veſſel, and affects the ſugar ſo, that little

more than one half of that quantity ſeems neceſſary, and it is alſo proper to boil it in water.

From the reaſonings of Mr. Bouſie (to whom the aſſembly of Jamaica voted a reward of 1000l. for his improvements in this proceſs), it appears that ſugar manufactured upon a vegetable alkaline baſis is in general as much ſuperior in colour as that procured by lime is in grain; ſo that it ſeems highly probable (at leaſt the queſtion merits inveſtigation) that vegetable ſweets and lime, if combined, would prove a better temper. The fire being increaſed, and the ſcum formed on the top, the liquor is not ſuffered to boil, but the quantity of heat is denoted by bliſters and froth. After this, the damper is applied and the fire put out. The liquor being allowed to ſtand, its ſcum thickens, and it is drawn off by a channel from the bottom, clarified, and almoſt tranſparent, to the grand copper, while the ſcum on the top gradually ſinks unbroken till the liquor is all off. This mode is far ſuperior to that former one of ebullition and ſcumming; for it is plain, that (beſides the diſadvantage of labour) the circulation of the fluid in boiling mixes all the groſs particles, which would otherwiſe come to the top.

In the large copper the practice of ſcumming is more advantageous. When the quantity of liquor is reduced by evaporation, the boiling and ſcumming is continued, and lime thrown in if the clarification needs it. When reduced ſtill more, it is laded into the third copper boiler, where the ſame operations continue, and at laſt it is brought into

the teache. Thus there muſt be three copper boilers and three clarifiers. Evaporation continues in the teache till it is laded, or ſtruck as the phraſe expreſſes it, into the cooler, being now conſiderably thicker than before.

The cooler is a ſhallow wooden veſſel, which contains about an hogſhead of ſugar. Here the ſugar forms into a maſs of ſemiformed cryſtals, after which it is carried to the curing houſe, where the melaſſes drains from it. But previous to this change, it ſhould be obſerved, firſt, that the liquor in the cooler ſhould cool very ſlowly; and, ſecondly, that the cooler, if exceſſively narrow, occaſions an unfavourable ſmallneſs of grain.

To judge whether the ſugar be ſufficiently evaporated to undergo the above-mentioned proceſs of ſtriking or for paſſing from the teache to the cooler, requires much attention. Experienced negroes will calculate by the eye, but the moſt common way is to judge by the touch. The thread which follows the finger will break at different lengths in proportion to the time which the liquor has boiled. On an experiment depending ſo much on practice, little farther can be ſaid. A method more ſcientific was recommended by a Mr. Baker of Jamaica, in an eſſay printed in 1775: "Provide (ſays he) a ſmall thin pane of clear crown glaſs, which I would call a *trier*; on this let fall two or three drops on the ſubject out of the other, and carry your trier out of the boiling houſe into the air. Obſerve your ſubject, and more particularly whether it grains

freely, and whether a ſmall edge of melaſſes ſeparates at the bottom. I am well ſatisfied, that a little experience will enable you to judge what appearance the whole ſkip will put on when cold, by this ſpecimen, which is alſo cold. This method is uſed by chemiſts to try evaporated ſolutions of all other ſalts; it may ſeem, therefore, ſomewhat ſtrange that it has not been adopted in the boiling houſe."

To Mr. Baker, alſo, the Weſt India planters are indebted for the prevalent method of clarifying the ſugar by means of veſſels hung to ſeveral fires, and dampers to prevent ebullition.

The curing houſe is a large building, provided with a ciſtern, the ſides of which are ſloped, and over which there is a frame of joiſt work covered with empty hogſheads without headings. Each hogſhead has the ſtalk of a plantain leaf through it, ſix or eight inches below the joiſts. The melaſſes drains through the ſpongy ſtalk into the ciſtern, leaving the ſugar behind, which commonly dries in three weeks; and from this proceſs obtains the name of Muſcavado ſugar, in contradiſtinction to that manufactured in a different manner, called Liſbon, or clayed ſugar.

The proceſs of obtaining this ſugar is as follows: The ſugar from the cooler is put into forms or pans, conical downwards, leaving a hole of an inch and a half for the melaſſes to drain through. The hole, it muſt be obſerved, is cloſed with a plug till the liquor comes to a conſiſtency. Twenty-four

hours after the plug is removed, a ſtratum of moiſtened clay is ſpread over the top of the pan, by which means the water oozing through the ſugar, carries away more of the melaſſes than would otherwiſe come. The ſugar thus produced is ſuperior to the Muſcavado, and the French planters practiſe it generally; but the Britiſh planters declare that the loſs of weight accompanying this mode more than outſtrips the advantage of quality. Where 60 lbs. of ſugar are made in the Muſcavado manner, 40 are only procured in this proceſs; but as the laſt drawn off melaſſes yields about 40 per cent. of ſugar, the difference is reduced to about one-ſixth part of the weight.

We proceed to offer ſome obſervations on the art of procuring rum. This proceſs is far more curious than the former, as it obtains from the very dregs and feculencies of the plant one of the pureſt and moſt fragrant ſpirits that can be produced by diſtillation.

The ſtill-houſes of Britiſh planters are of various ſizes; in general, however, equal in extent to the boiling and curing houſes together. Some are ſo extenſive as to contain 2000 gallons; but as there are few of that extent, we ſhall confine our remarks to ſuch as would correſpond to a plantation capable of yielding, in ordinary years, 200 hogſheads of ſugar. For ſuch an eſtate two copper ſtills, one of 1200, the other of 600 gallons, are neceſſary. The tank or tubs muſt, if poſſible, be kept in a running water, and in that caſe need only be of ſufficient

width to admit the worm. A ſtone tank is preferable to a tub, if running water cannot be had, becauſe it heats more ſlowly, and if capable of holding 30,000 gallons of water, may be kept cool enough to condenſe the ſpirit.

Beſides theſe, the diſtiller muſt provide a dunder ciſtern of 3000 gallons, a ciſtern for the ſcummings, and 12 fermenting vats to contain 1200 gallons each.

The ingredients of this apparatus are melaſſes drained from ſugar, ſcummings of the boiled liquor, or ſometimes the cane juice even raw, lees or dunder, and, laſtly, water. Of theſe ingredients, the dunder, and alſo the water, ſerve for the purpoſe of making the ſweets combined with them yield a far greater quantity of ſpirit than they would otherwiſe afford. The proportions are, in general, ſcummings, lees, and water, one-third of each.

When theſe are well mixed and pretty cool, in 24 hours the firſt charge of melaſſes may be put in, of which ſix gallons for every hundred gallons of the liquor in a ſtate of fermentation is to be given at twice, viz. three per cent. the firſt charge, and the other three a day or two afterwards, when the liquor is highly fermented; but the heat of this fermentation muſt never exceed 94 degrees in Fahrenheit's thermometer. In ſeven or eight days it is fit for diſtillation; after which it is to be conveyed to the largeſt ſtill. Here it ſhould be kept above a ſteady and regular fire till it boils, and then the fuel may be gradually abated. The ſpirit, con-

denſed by the ſurrounding fluid, then runs in a ſtream through the worm, clear and tranſparent.

This ſpirit, called Low Wines, becomes rum by the ſecond diſtillation. It may not be untimely to obſerve, however, that in the firſt proceſs, the Jamaica diſtillers uſe dunder more copiouſly than thoſe of the other iſlands. The uſe of dunder, as was before mentioned in different language, is to diſſolve the ſaccharine ſweets. Its uſe and application requires a ſkilful mixture: When the ſweets conſiſt of melaſſes, and not of cane liquor, the dunder ſhould be liberally applied, becauſe the melaſſes is a more tenacious ſubſtance than the other; but where the cane juice is the principal part, not above 20 per cent. of dunder is required.

In order to augment the vinoſity of the waſh, many ſubſtances are recommended by Dr. Shaw, ſuch as tartar, nitre, common ſalt, and the vegetable or mineral acids. The diſtillers of St. Chriſtopher's, indeed, are ſaid actually to uſe ſea water as an operator of the ſame tendency, and it is looked upon as a real and conſiderable improvement. Dr. Shaw alſo deſires the diſtiller to introduce into the fermenting ciſtern a few gallons of the vitrified ſpirit, which, he aſſerts, will much augment the evaporation. Whatever advantage might reſult from following theſe preſcriptions, it is pretty evident that a certain quantity of vegetable alkali will be of ſingular utility; but this advice muſt be taken in moderation, for if too large a quantity be infuſed, the fine eſſential oil, the flavour of the ſpirit, will

be kept back. The object of greateſt moment is cleanlineſs in the ciſterns, not only for the melioration of the rum, but becauſe the foul vapour, which it collects while uncleaned, is frequently fatal to the firſt who approaches it.

It was mentioned juſt now that the Jamaica mode of mixture is different from the practice of the Leeward Iſlands. The proportions they obſerve are as follow:

Dunder, one-half, or	-	50 gallons
Sweets, 12 per cent.	Melaſſes,	6
	Scummings,	36
Water, - - - -		8
		100 gallons

According to the Jamaica mode, the low wines are drawn off in a butt, and conveyed to the ſecond ſtill of 600 gallons, to undergo a ſecond diſtillation. In the courſe of a day there is obtained from this two puncheons of rum, in which olive oil will ſink; and thus the proceſs is finiſhed. Seventy gallons will yet remain in the ſtill, ſo that in fact 530 gallons of low wine yield 220 of proof ſpirits. Thus weekly are produced 12 puncheons of rum, or 110 gallons of the Jamaica ſtandard. The proportion of the rum produced on an eſtate to the ſugar, is about two-thirds of the former to the latter. The reader may, perhaps, have a more diſtinct idea of this from the following ſtatement: The ſcummings ſent to the ſtill-houſe are ſeven gallons per cent. of

the cane liquor; 200 gallons of cane juice are required for every hogſhead of ſugar, ſo that where 200 hogſheads are produced, there will be 28,000 gallons of juice, equal to 4666 of melaſſes. This, added to 12,000 gallons of melaſſes from the curing-houſe, makes up in all 16,666 gallons of ſweets, which ought to produce 131 puncheons of proof rum, of 100 gallons each.

The above obſervations, both upon cultivation, boiling and diſtilling, have been principally drawn from Jamaica. In like manner, in the ſubſequent chapter, when treating of the farther particulars with regard to this article, ſuch as the firſt coſt, current expences, and returns which may be reaſonably expected, our remarks and references ſhall be drawn from the ſame quarter. Allowances muſt, however, be made for the variation between Jamaica and the other Windward Iſlands.

CHAPTER III.

Capital neceſſary in the Settlement or Purchaſe of a Sugar Plantation of a given Extent—The Lands, Buildings, and Stock ſeparately conſidered—Particulars and Coſt—Groſs Returns from the Properties—Annual Diſburſements—Nett Profits, various contingent Charges not taken into the Account—Difference not commonly attended to in the Way of eſtimating the Profits of an Engliſh Eſtate and one in the Weſt Indies—Inſurance of Weſt India Eſtates in the Time of War, and other occaſional Deductions—The Queſtion, why the Cultivation of the Sugar Iſlands continues under ſo many Diſcouragements, conſidered and diſcuſſed.

In the buſineſs of ſugar planting there is no medium between immenſe loſs and immenſe gain. To embark in this buſineſs with any tolerable proſpect of wealth, 30,000l. is no more than a moderate capital. This may be eaſily conceived, if it be taken into view that the expences attending a ſmall eſtate are more than proportionable to its extent, if taken in compariſon with thoſe attending a large one. When we ſpeak of capital, we either mean caſh or ſolid eſtabliſhed credit. It muſt here be conſidered that Weſt Indian loans are very different from thoſe of Britain, where the mortgage is marketable; but in theſe iſlands it is not. When the money is called for, there is no one ready to appropriate the debt to himſelf and advance the ſum; ſo that when credit is ſuddenly withdrawn, the unfortunate planter is ſpeedily ruined by ſelling his property far below its value.

We begin then with appreciating the ſum to be paid for, and the profits to be reaſonably expected from, an eſtate yielding, *communibus annis*, 200 hogſheads of ſugar*, and thirty puncheons of rum. In the *firſt* place, we examine the lands.

An eſtate yielding the above returns cannot be of leſs extent than 900 acres, of which there are uſually allowed 300 for canes, the ſame number for eſculent vegetables, ſuch as yams, plantains, potatoes, &c. and a third proportion of the ſame extent which remains under native wood for ſupplying the timber neceſſary for the eſtate. The general run of eſtates are rather above than below this extent, not owing (as ſome have aſſerted) to the avaricious temper of Weſt Indian proprietors, but to the quality of the ground, which is ſo exceedingly valuable as to oblige the planter to take in large tracts in order that the ſcanty produce of the one kind may be compenſated by the exuberant returns of the more generous ſoil.

The value of land muſt depend very much upon its ſituation. In Jamaica, an eſtate of 600 acres, in a favourable ſituation, would ſell, I imagine, for fourteen pounds currency per acre, *i. e.* ten pounds Sterling. The attendant expences upon clearing this would amount, in current money, to the following ſums:

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* Of ſixteen hundred weight each, containing one hundred and ten gallons each.

To 600 acres of land - -	L. 8400
To clearing one half for canes, at 12l. per acre - - -	3600
Clearing and planting in eſculent vegetables 100 acres, at 7l. per acre	700
To clearing another 100, and ſowing Guinea graſs, at the ſame rate - -	700
Encloſing and fencing the whole -	700
Total Currency	L. 14100
or Sterling	10071

The buildings on ſuch an eſtate may be reckoned as follows:

	Jamaica Currency
1. A water-mill (if it can be obtained), or (if it cannot) an allowance equal to what it would coſt is to be made for either a wind-mill and a cattle-mill, or for two wind-mills -	L. 1400
2. A boiling-houſe, including the coſt of three clarifiers and four boilers -	1000
3. A curing-houſe adjoining, containing one-half of the crop, and a melaſſes ciſtern to contain 6000 gallons - - -	1800
4. A diſtillery-houſe, with two ſtills, the one holding 1200, the other 600 gallons, a tank holding 30,000 gallons of water, twelve ciſterns fixed in the earth, and a rum ſtore -	1600
Carry forward	5800

	Jamaica Currency.
Brought forward	L. 5800
5. The overſeer's houſe - -	600
6. Two traſhes covered with ſhingles, at 300l. each - - -	600
7. Hoſpital, lying-in and priſon rooms, doctor's ſhop, and ſtore-houſe for utenſils - - -	300
8. A ſtable for 60 mules - -	150
9. Shops for tradeſmen - -	150
10. Sheds for wains, &c. - -	50
Extra expences - - -	350
Total	L. 7000
Or Sterling money	5000

STOCK.

The ſtock neceſſary for ſuch an eſtate may be eſtimated as follows:

	Jamaica Currency.
250 negroes, at 70l. each -	L. 17500
80 ſteers, at 15l. - -	1200
60 mules, at 28l. - -	1680
Total	L. 20380

The whole amounts to—

Lands - - -	14100
Buildings - - -	7000
Stock - - -	20380
Total in Jamaica Currency	L. 41480

Which is within 50l. of 30,000l. Sterling.

To calculate in Sterling money, the returns of ſuch an eſtate will be—

	Sterling.
200 hogſheads of ſugar, at 15l. Sterling per hogſhead - -	L. 3000
130 puncheons of rum, at 10l. Sterling per puncheon - -	1300
Groſs returns	L. 4300

It is a common miſtake to imagine that all the expences of the eſtate are obviated by the return of rum; but the following eſtimate of expences will evince the falſity of ſuch an opinion:

The annual ſupplies from Great Britain are of the following kind:

1. Negro clothing, ſuch as Oſnaburgh, penniſtones, ſhirts, blankets and hats.

2. Tools for the carpenters.

3. Miſcellaneous articles, ſuch as nails, rivets, chains, hoes, bills, knives, hoops, barrels, tobacco pipes, lead, train-oil, grindſtones, &c.

4. Proviſions, ſuch as ſalted herrings, beef, pork, butter, ſoap, candles, ſalt, flour, peaſe, groats.

The above articles, at a moderate eſtimate, cannot be leſs than 850l. Sterling.

To theſe muſt be added the charges of ſalaries to overſeer, clerks, and ſervants, bills to tradeſmen, taxes, wharfage, ſtaves, and other occaſional ſupplies, which, by computation, amount to 1300l. Sterling, or 1840l. Currency.

The annual charges of all kinds will therefore amount to 2150l. Sterling, exactly one half of the produce of his property. In this eſtimation no notice is taken of the tear and wear of buildings, or the expence of ſix per cent. for legal commiſſion to his agents, ſhould he be abſent himſelf from the ſpot. It is not, therefore, wonderful that a Weſt Indian eſtate ſhould not be at all times a mine of wealth, or rather that it ſhould not very frequently be a mill-ſtone about the neck of the proprietor, and drag him to deſtruction.

In comparing the value of Weſt Indian with Britiſh property, it is reaſonable to hold in view that the Weſt Indian planter is both landlord and tenant of the little eſtate which he cultivates. Should an intemperate ſeaſon occur, the Engliſh proprietor is no more affected by the difference in the produce of his eſtate, than in as far as he may ſympathize with the unfortunate ſituation of his tenant. The moſt deſtructive war does not affect his eſtate as it does the Weſt Indian reſident in Britain, who, unleſs he ſubmit to pay a high premium for ſecurity againſt the rage of the elements and the ravages of war, muſt paſs many a ſleepleſs night in dreadful ſuſpenſe for the ſubſiſtence of his family, while creditors grow more importunate as danger increaſes.

A queſtion here naturally ſtarts up from the nature of the ſubject. How does it happen (it is demanded) that whilſt the charges of a Weſt Indian property are ſo large, and the profits ſo ſmall, that

ſo many ſhould embark in the attempt, and the ſugar iſlands be ſo rapidly cultivated and improved? To ſuch as advance this queſtion, a more proper ſubject cannot be held out to view than the ſituation of numberleſs unfortunate men, who have fallen victims to the misfortunes attendant upon ſuch a mode of ſeeking riches. The failure of theſe has given an opportunity to others of a rapacious temper to take advantage of their diſtreſs, and purchaſe their eſtates, moſt probably, at a very low rate. Like the Corniſh peaſants, who behold a ſhipwreck without compaſſion, and even decoy the pilot by falſe lights, they not only refuſe ſupport, but even delude the planter to ruin. The rich man of this unfeeling ſtamp lends the adventurer a ſum of money ſufficient to purchaſe an eſtate, who, in the hopes of being continued in credit, prepares to ſtock his property; but juſt as his induſtry has enabled him to do this, the unfeeling creditor pretends immediate neceſſity for his money; the law is rigorous; the lender (ſince others are deterred from purchaſing the ground by the expences which it muſt yet require) gets the eſtate at his own price, and the unfortunate planter is ruined for life. Thus oppreſſion in the creditor, and misfortune in the adventurer, contribute equally to advance cultivation.

To the philoſopher ſpeculating in his cloſet, the fluctuating nature of Weſt Indian property would ſeem a ſufficient object to prevent him from embarking in this ſpecies of trade; yet it may be

looked upon as in reality the cauſe of ſo much money being expended in attempting to obtain the advantage of fortunate returns.

The price of ſugar is exceedingly variable, and the principal cauſe of the inequality of the profits which it yields, ariſes from the comparative goodneſs or badneſs of its manufacture. Every one who ſees the method of ſugar-making, regards it as a very ſimple proceſs, and, by a natural propenſity to imitation, wiſhes to engage in the buſineſs; but where ſo many unqualified experimenters come forward, there muſt be more who fail than who ſucceed; and their want of ſucceſs is certainly owing to themſelves, though they aſcribe it to the capriciouſneſs of the market. The above may be looked upon as cauſes much contributing to the rapid cultivation of the Weſt Indies: that there are other (perhaps more material) cauſes of improvement, will not be denied; but theſe it were foreign to our purpoſe here to diſcuſs.

The above minute remarks on the growth and manufacture of ſugar may, perhaps, be thought tedious by thoſe who do not attend to the importance of the ſubject; but as ſo many individuals are more or leſs connected with the trade and manufactures of the colonies, it is preſumed that the intereſt excited by the above obſervations will be a ſufficient apology for their introduction. We proceed, in the next chapter, to lay before the reader all the information that could be collected upon the minor articles of Indian production, ſuch as

cotton, indigo, coffee, cacao, pimento, and ginger, which, with ſugar and rum, principally contribute the bulky freight which at preſent employs more ſhips than all the towns of England amounted to at the beginning of the preſent century.

CHAPTER IV.

Of the minor Staple Commodities, viz. Cotton, its Growth and various Species—Mode of Cultivation and Riſks attending it—Imports of this Article into Great Britain, and the Profits accruing from the Manufactures produced by it—Indigo, its Cultivation and Manufacture—Opulence of the firſt Indigo Planters in Jamaica, and Reflections concerning the Decline of this Branch of Cultivation in that Iſland—Coffee, whether that of the Weſt Indies is equal to the Mocha—Situation and Soil—Exorbitant Duty to which it was ſubject in Great Britain——Approved Method of cultivating the Plant and curing the Berry—Eſtimate of the annual Expences and Returns of a Coffee Plantation—Cacao, Ginger, Arnotto, Aloes and Pimento.

COTTON.

THIS plant, one of the moſt valuable gifts of a bountiful Creator, is found in all the tropical regions of Aſia, Africa, and America. The cotton wool manufactured into cloth is of two kinds, greenſeed and ſhrub cotton. The latter is ſubdivided into two ſpecies; the one of ſuch a nature that the wool can be ſeparated from the ſeed by no way but by the hand. It is uſed, therefore, principally for wicks to the lamps which are uſed in ſugar-boiling; although, if it could be ſeparated like the other kinds, it would be a valuable acquiſition to our manufactures. The ſecond kind of the greenſeed, though vaſtly finer than the other ſpecies of cottons generally uſed, is yet inferior in fineneſs to the former; it has a duller green and

larger ſeeds. Both theſe kinds riſe into large trees, which bloſſom from October to January, and bear pods from February to June. The flowers are compoſed of five yellow leaves, beautiful but not fragrant. Each leaf has a purple ſpot at the bottom. The pod, when ripe, opens into three or four partitions, and diſcovers the cotton in as many white locks. The ſmall and black ſeeds are interſpeſed in theſe locks.

The ſhrub cotton reſembles an European Corinth buſh, and is divided into ſeveral varieties. *1ſt*, The common Jamaica, which is coarſe but ſtrong, though the brittleneſs of its ſeeds, and the difficulty of its cleaning, make it leſs profitable than other kinds, yet the obſtinacy of habit keeps it in uſe.

2d, The brown bearded has a ſomewhat finer ſtaple and a better ratoon, but it is attended with this diſadvantage, that it is more difficult to clean.

3d, Nankeen, different only in colour from the laſt, and giving a name to the cloth called after it.

4th, French, or ſmall ſeed, generally cultivated in Hiſpaniola, is finer and more prolific than the Jamaica, or brown bearded, but leſs hardy than either.

5th, Kidney chain cotton, or the true cotton of Brazil. From its being exceedingly good, prolific, and eaſily cleaned, it is the higheſt imprudence in the planter to mix it with any other.

The mode of culture is the ſame in all theſe varieties; and as dryneſs is the moſt favourable cir-

cumſtance in the growth of cotton, they correſpond in this quality, that they will flouriſh in the moſt rocky ſoil, provided it has been exhauſted by former cultivation. From May to September inclusive, is the ſeaſon fitted for ſowing cotton. Eight or ten ſeeds are buried in every hole, becauſe the chance of ſome being devoured by the grub, and of others rotting, muſt be calculated. The ſprouts riſe in a fortnight, and great care muſt now be taken in clearing every impediment to their growth, leaving, however, only two or three (the ſtrongeſt) in each hole, in caſe the grub ſhould attack them. Three or four months after they are topped at the head to make them ſhoot laterally. At the end of five months the plant puts out its beautiful yellow flowers, and in two months more the pods appear. When the wool has been gathered, the ſeeds are ſeparated by means of a ſimple inſtrument, called a Lin, compoſed of two parallel rollers, turned in oppoſite directions. The cotton is put through theſe, and the ſeeds being too large to paſs in the interſpace behind, they are thus ſeparated. The wool is then hand-picked, that it may be cleared of all the extraneous ſubſtances which attach to it, and, after being packed into bags of about 200 pounds weight, is ſent to the market.

In the cotton-wool produced in the Weſt Indies, there is conſiderable difference of quality.

	Per Pound.
The wool of Berbice was ſold, in 1780, for	2s. 1d.
Demarara, from 1s. 11d. to	2s. 1d.
Surinam, — —	2s.
Cayenne, — —	2s.
St. Domingo, —	1s. 10d.
Tobago, — —	1s. 9d.
Jamaica, — —	1s. 7d.

Though the prices may have ſince changed, yet the relative value ſtill continues the ſame. It is alſo worthy of obſervation, that the difference of price in the Berbice and Jamaica cotton is from 25s. to 35s. per cent. in favour of the former: A decided proof that a proper choice of the ſeed is abſolutely neceſſary.

In eſtimating the coſt of a cotton plantation, and the returns to be expected, I fix on a ſmall capital, becauſe the caſe here is different from that of a ſugar plantation, where an immenſe ſtock is neceſſary to the adventurer on his firſt outſet. Here a moderate beginning is perfectly ſufficient. In many parts of the Weſt Indies, land fit for the rearing of cotton may be had for 5l. Jamaica currency per acre; but, as it is proper to change the ground at certain periods, we muſt allow double the quantity to be purchaſed which is laid under cotton. The coſt is therefore,

	Jamaica Currency.
For 50 acres, at 5l. per acre, -	L. 250 0 0
Expence of clearing and planting 25 acres, at 7l. per acre, -	175 0 0
Twelve negroes, at 70l. each,	840 0 0
A year's intereſt, at 6 per cent.	75 18 0
A year's maintenance, clothing, and medical care, - -	120 0 0
Total,	L. 1460 18 0 or L. 1040 Sterling.

It has been a common mode of calculation in Jamaica, to allow 120lb. to the acre planted in cotton; but, from the average of ſucceſſive crops, I imagine that 112lb. is a more reaſonable allowance. Allowing, then, the price of cotton to be 1s. 3d. Sterling per pound, and ſuppoſing no more than 100lb. to be produced on an acre, the whole produce of 25 acres will be 175l. Sterling. If we deduct incidental expences, to the amount of 25l. the remainder, in Sterling money, is 150l. an intereſt on the capital of 14 per cent. If the cotton be 2s. per pound, the profit is 20 per cent.

But, to counterbalance this return, cotton is, in its nature, a moſt precarious commodity. The grub, the blaſt, and the rain continually threaten its deſtruction. In the Bahama Iſlands, during the year 1788, no leſs than 280 tons were devoured by the worm. It cannot, however, be denied, that as the preſent demand for cotton is ſo great at home, the cultiva-

tion of this commodity bids fair to be a lucrative employment to thoſe who ſhall hereafter engage in it; and the profits will be ſtill more enhanced, if attention be paid to procure and ſeparate the more valuable ſpecies of ſeeds.

I ſhall conclude the ſubject with preſenting to my readers the following tables, drawn from authentic ſources, which cannot fail to furniſh abundant encouragement for ſpeculation and adventure.

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, in Britiſh Ships.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	1135750
1785	—	—	1398500
1786	—	—	1346386
1787	—	—	1158000

An Account of Foreign Cotton-wool imported into the Britiſh Weſt Indies, under the Free Port Act.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	2169000
1785	—	—	1573280
1786	—	—	1962500
1787	—	—	1943000

An Account of Cotton-wool, Britiſh and Foreign, imported from the Britiſh Weſt Indies into Great Britain.

Years.			lbs.
1784	—	—	6893959
1785	—	—	8204611
1786	—	—	7830734
1787	—	—	9396921

An Account of Cotton-wool imported into Great Britain, from all Parts.

Years.		lbs.		Suppoſed Value in Manufactures.
1784	—	11280338	—	L. 3950000 Sterling.
1785	—	17992888	—	6000000
1786	—	19151867	—	6500000
1787	—	22600000	—	7500000

Machinery eſtabliſhed in Great Britain (1787) *for the Cotton Manufactory.*

143	water-mills, which coſt	—	L. 715000
20500	hand-mills, or jennies, for ſpinning the ſhute, for the twiſted yarn ſpun by the water-mills (including buildings and auxiliary machinery),	— —	285000
	Total,		L. 1000000

From the conſtruction of the machinery, it has been aſſerted, that a pound of Demarara cotton has been ſpun into as much thread as would extend 169 miles. In Great Britain not leſs than 600,000 people find ſupport from the cotton-manufactory. By the neareſt computation, the number of individuals maintained upon the woollen-manufactory are not a million, ſo that it does not exceed the importance of the cotton in a twofold proportion.

INDIGO.

In the Britiſh Weſt Indies there are three ſpecies of this plant; the firſt of which, though hardier and finer, is eſteemed leſs valuable than the other two, becauſe it is not ſo prolific in its returns. All the ſpecies agree in this quality, that though they thrive on niggard ſoils, and though the longeſt heat does not kill them, yet that a ſpell of wet weather entirely deſtroys them. In cultivating indigo, the land, when cleared, is divided into trenches, and the ſeed ſtrewed by the hand at the bottom; a buſhel of ſeed being quite ſufficient for four or five acres. The ſeaſon moſt proper for planting in the Weſt Indies, ſeems to be the month of March. In America, the proper ſeaſon varies with the ſeaſon of ſpring, which, on that continent, is exceedingly various. The plant is a child of the ſun, and certainly flouriſhes to advantage nowhere but in tropical countries. The inſect moſt deſtructive to the proſperity of the indigo plant, is a ſpecies of the grub or worm. There is

no other remedy but to change the ſoil; and the want of attention to this circumſtance may be aſcribed as a ſufficient reaſon for the many recent failures in this buſineſs. The uſual return of indigo (if the grub be prevented), for the firſt cutting, is about 80lb. per acre of Pigeon's neck, or 60lb. of the Guatimala. The yielding of the ſubſequent cuttings is leſs; but if the land be new, ſometimes the whole five cuttings amount to 300lb. per acre of the ſecond quality. For rearing the produce of five acres, four negroes, who can otherwiſe maintain themſelves, are only requiſite.

For obtaining the dye, two ciſterns are neceſſary, placed the one above the other. The firſt is called the Steeper, the other the Battery. Beſides this, it is neceſſary to have a lime-vat, with the top-hole, or plug-hole, placed at leaſt eight inches from the bottom, in order to leave ſufficient room for the lime to ſubſide entirely before the lime-water is drawn off into the battery. When the plants are wet, they are laid in ſtrata in the ſteeper till it is about three parts full; they are then preſſed with boards, which are wedged, or loaded, to prevent the plants from buoying up; and the plants themſelves are ſaturated with water. They are then left to ferment; but great care is taken that they ſhall neither draw off the pulp too ſoon, nor occaſion putrefaction of the tops by retaining them too long. To aſcertain the due time which is neceſſary for the fermentation of indigo, the Chamber of Agriculture in Hiſpaniola have made repeated experiments, and, for the

benefit of the public, have been ſo kind as to publiſh the following receipt.

" After the indigo has been ſteeped in the ciſtern eight or nine hours, draw off a little of the water, and, with a pen dipped into it, make a few ſtrokes upon white paper. The firſt will probably be high coloured, in which caſe the indigo is not ſufficiently fermented. This operation is to be repeated every quarter of an hour, until it loſes its colour, when it is arrived at the true point of fermentation."

It is aſtoniſhing that an experiment ſo ſimple in itſelf, if it anſwers, ſhould have been for ſo many years unknown to the indigo planters in general; and I confeſs, that, although I have had no opportunity of giving it a trial, I am myſelf ſomewhat doubtful of its efficacy. The following method, which I give on the authority of Mr. Lediard, is, I conceive, attended with much greater certainty.

" Let a ſmall hole be made in the ſteeper, ſix or eight inches from the bottom, excluſive of the opening or aperture for drawing off the impregnated water; let this hole likewiſe be ſtopped with a plug, yet not ſo firmly but that a ſmall ſtream may be permitted to ooze through it. After the plants have been ſteeped ſome hours, the fluid oozing out will appear beautifully green, and at the lower edge of the ciſtern, from whence it drops into the battery, it will turn of a copperiſh colour. This copperiſh hue, as the fermentation continues, will gradually aſcend upwards to the plug; and when that circum-

ſtance is perceived, it is proper to ſtop the fermentation.

"During the progreſs of this part of the buſineſs, particular attention ſhould be paid to the ſmell of the liquor which weeps from the aperture; for ſhould it diſcover any ſourneſs, it will be neceſſary to let the fermented liquor run immediately into the battery, and lime water of ſufficient ſtrength muſt be added to it, until it has loſt its ſourneſs. As it is running off, it will appear green, mixed with a bright yellow, or ſtraw colour, but in the battery it will be of a moſt beautiful green."

After the tincture has been diſcharged into the battery, the proceſs of churning muſt now be put in practice. This was at one period effected by mere manual labour; but now it is performed by means of levers, wrought by a cog-wheel, and kept in motion by a horſe or mule. When the fluid appears curdled, it is impregnated with lime-water to promote ſeparation, and prevent putrefaction; but the operator muſt carefully diſtinguiſh the different ſtages of this proceſs, too ſmall a degree of agitation making the indigo green and coarſe, and too much making it almoſt black. After the pulp has granulated, and the flakes ſettled at the bottom, the ſuperincumbent water is taken away, and the dye, when dried in moulds, is fit for the market.

From the prolific nature, and cheap apparatus attending the manufacture of the plant, as alſo from the ſmall number of negroes requiſite for its culture, it is, at firſt ſight, a matter of aſtoniſhment, that an

article which ſhould yield in the proportion 1200 pound to the twenty acres, ſhould have proved an unſucceſsful ſubject of employment in the hands of many who have tried it. Yet certain it is, that the planters who, after embarking in the cultivation of indigo, have failed with exceeding loſs, were in general men of ſound mercantile ſagacity, and of property and induſtry. The moſt ſatisfactory reaſon that can be aſſigned for their misfortunes, is the dreadful mortality among the negroes (ariſing from the vapour of the fermented liquor), which inevitably attends an indigo manufactory. This has, combined with leſſer evils, blaſted the hopes of acquiring wealth by this purſuit, and has diverted their induſtry to a different channel.

COFFEE.

The public has been already favoured with ſo many eſſays on the beneficial properties of this berry, that it is almoſt impoſſible to bring forward any thing additional to recommend its advantages. Among the many able performances on the ſubject, none has attracted more general approbation than a work of the ingenious Dr. Benjamin Moſeley, which, ſince 1785, has gone through five editions in Engliſh, and has been tranſlated into moſt of the languages of Europe.

It has been long admitted, that the Weſt Indian coffee is inferior to the coffee of Mocha; but it has been alſo erroneouſly ſuppoſed that this inferiority

ariſes from the Weſt Indian being the produce of a coarſer ſpecies of tree. In refutation of this ſuppoſition, and to prove that the whole difference depends upon the ſoil, climate, and mode of curing, it need only be mentioned, that coffee tranſplanted from the Weſt Indies to an Engliſh hot-houſe has, under proper management, proved conſiderably ſuperior to any that ever came from the Eaſt.

The ſmall berry, which, both in Arabia and the Weſt Indies, grows in dry ſloping ground, is found moſt agreeable to the Engliſh; but the beans produced upon a rich deep ſoil, which are of a dingy green, and continue ſome years unfit for uſe, proves the favourite of American cuſtomers. It might be expected, therefore, that, while the taxes impoſed by the Britiſh government on coffee were ſevere, and while, of conſequence, America was found a more profitable market, the latter would be more generally cultivated. Since the 1783, however, the Britiſh duties have been leſs enormous, and a wonderful change in the direction of the coffee-trade has taken place. The Britiſh demand has increaſed ſo rapidly, that the planters have changed the nature of their commodity to the taſte of their cuſtomers. It is true, indeed, that the ſoil before mentioned as beſt fitted to produce the ſmall berry, cannot always be found; but it is of importance to ſpeculate beforehand in the choice of ſoil in a country where ſuch variety of ground is to be procured.

The whole of the Weſt Indies, but more eſpecially Jamaica, abounds with red hills of that warm

gravelly mould ſo remarkably favourable to the growth of coffee bearing high flavoured fruit. Upon good land the plants may be ſafely expoſed all the year round, provided proper care be adminiſtered that they ſhall not be blaſted in the bloſſoms by the north wind, ſo frequently fatal to this production. The mode of planting is to ſet the young plants eight feet diſtant from each other, in all directions, in holes made large enough to hold the lower part of the ſtem and all its roots. Although eight feet be the uſual diſtance between the plants, yet, as it is often found, in rich ſoils, that the trees grow ſo luxuriant as to impede the growth of each other, it is then advantageous to cut down every ſecond row within 10 or 12 inches of the ground; and it frequently happens, that old plantations cut in this manner will yield a tolerable crop the ſecond year.

The average produce of a coffee plantation muſt depend upon the nature of the ſoil. On dry ground a pound and a half of prepared coffee is accounted good bearing for a ſingle tree; but in rich ſpongy ſoils the produce (though inferior in flavour) is frequently ſix. Upon the whole, the following may be looked upon as an average calculation. When the trees are raiſed from old ones, the firſt year's return may be eſtimated at 300; the next at 500; the third at 600 or 700 lbs. per acre. Trees raiſed from young plants yield nothing till the third year; and, at the end of that period, 750 pounds may be reaſonably looked for.

Of gathering the Crop.

ACCORDING to La Roque, the practice of gathering and curing the crop is considered thus:

"When the planters perceive that the fruit is come to maturity, they ſpread cloths under the trees, which they ſhake from time to time, and the ripe fruit drops off. The berries thus collected are afterwards ſpread upon mats, and expoſed to the ſun with the pulp on the berries, until they are perfectly dry, which requires a conſiderable time; after which, the beans are extricated from their outward encumbrance by the preſſure of a large and heavy ſtone roller, when they are again dried in the ſun; for the planters conſider, that, unleſs coffee be thoroughly dry, there is danger of its heating. It is then winnowed with a large fan, and packed for ſale."

The above proceſs is undoubtedly better calculated to preſerve the flavour of the berry; but I believe the aforementioned method practiſed in the Weſt Indies, by being infinitely leſs tedious, muſt enable the merchant to furniſh the market with cheaper coffee than the Arabian manufacturer could procure. The negro who is appointed picker goes about with a bag hanging from his neck, kept open by means of a hoop in its mouth. If induſtrious, he may eaſily pick three buſhels per day, and 100 buſhels of coffee in the pulp will yield 1000 pounds of the prepared commodity, fit for the market.

Coffee is cured either with or without the pulp. When cured with the pulp on the berry, it is ſpread to the ſun on a ſloping terras or platform of boards, and is uſually dry in the ſpace of three weeks; after which the huſks are ſeparated from the ſeeds by a grinding machine. When the pulp is removed, as ſoon as the coffee comes from the tree they make uſe of a pulping mill (a machine compoſed of a fluted roller, a breaſt board fitted to the grooves of the roller, and a ſloping trough to feed them), which, when wrought by only one negro, will pulp a buſhel in a minute. The bean, ſtill in its parchment ſkin, is then waſhed in wire ſieves and expoſed to dry.

It has been long diſputed which of theſe methods of practice is moſt advantageous. The former, I believe, gives a higher flavour; but from either method good coffee may be obtained by the aſſiſtance of age, which is its moſt effective improver. The membrane or ſkin, which ſtill adheres to the bean, is ſeparated by means of a machine of the following conſtruction: A perpendicular axis is ſurrounded by a circular trough, and about a foot from the level of its ſurface there are tenanted in the axis four horrizontal arms, to which are fitted as many rollers. Theſe, on being turned round, bruiſe the coffee, ſo as to ſeparate the ſkin from the bean, and when the ſeparation is effected, the ſkins are carried off by a fan. In this manner 1500 lbs. will be cleared in a day. The method of clearing by ſtoves has been found ſo prejudicial to the taſte

and ſmell of the coffee, as to be now almoſt entirely laid aſide. Indeed there is no ſubſtance ſo liable to imbibe the exhalations of any thing with which it is in proximity. "Coffee berries (ſays Dr. Moſeley) are remarkably diſpoſed to imbibe exhalations from other bodies, and thereby acquire an adventitious and diſagreeable flavour. Rum, placed near to coffee, will, in a ſhort time, ſo impregnate the berries, as to injure the taſte in a high degree; and it is related by Mr. Miller, that a few bags of pepper on board a ſhip from India, ſome years ſince, ſpoiled a whole cargo of coffee."

We cannot conclude this ſubject more properly than by drawing out an eſtimate of the expences attending the culture of this commodity, and the returns which may be reaſonably expected from its crops. I conceive that it is the moſt advantageous and equally productive plant of any that the Weſt Indies affords; for giving all due regard to the argument which is ſo generally advanced againſt the probability of its being a lucrative article of cultivation (viz. that the duty falls upon the conſumer, and not upon the merchant), yet it is evident, that if the duty ſhould ever become ſo enormous as to diminiſh the conſumpt of the article, the planter has leſs temptation to cultivate that commodity than others in more general demand. For five years that the exceſſive duty on coffee continued, not 7,000,000 of pounds were imported into Britain, while St. Domingo has every year ſupplied Europe with 70,000,000; and although the demand of

Great Britain has increaſed ſince the laſt diminution of the duties, yet ſixpence per lb. may ſtill be reckoned too much to allow coffee to be a general beveridge.

Eſtimate of the Expence and Return of a Coffee Plantation in the Mountains of Jamaica, 14 miles from the Sea, calculated in the Currency of that Iſland, being 40 per cent. worſe than Sterling, viz.

Firſt coſt of 300 acres of mountain land, of which one-half is reſerved for proviſions and paſturage, at 3l. per acre,	L.	900
Ditto of 100 negroes, at 70l. per head,		7000
Ditto of 20 mules, at 28l.		560
Buildings and utenſils, mills, and negro tools, - - - - - -		2000
Expence of maintaining the negroes the firſt year, before proviſions can be raiſed (excluſive of other annual expences charged below), 5l. each, -		500
		10960
Compound intereſt for three years, before any return can be expected, at 6 per cent. - - - - -		2093
Carry over	L.	13053

Brought over		L. 13053
ANNUAL EXPENCES, viz.		
White overſeer and maintenance,	L. 200	
One other white ſervant,	70	
Medical attendance on the negroes, - - - -	25	
Negro-ſupplies, viz. clothing, tools, ſalted fiſh, and other proviſions, excluſive of the produce of their own grounds,	200	
Colonial taxes, - - -	100	
	595	
	3	
Total for three years, before any return can be expected, -	1785	
Compound intereſt, as it ariſes in the ſeveral years, - -	221	
		2006
Total expence, -		L. 15059

Returns of the fourth year, at 4l. per cwt. being the average price of Coffee for five years previous to 1792, viz.

From 150 acres of young coffee may be expected the fourth year 45,000 lbs.	L. 1800
Carried over	L. 1800

	Brought over	L. 1800
Deduct annual charges for the fourth year, - -	L. 595	
Sacks and ſaddles, - -	40	
	——	635
Clear profit, -		L. 1165

(being equal to 7l. 14s. per cent. on the capital.)

Returns the fifth and ſubſequent years, viz.

150 acres, yielding 750 lbs. per acre, 112,500 lbs. at 4l. - - -		L. 4500
Deduct annual charges, as before,	L. 595	
Sacks and ſaddles, - -	80	
Repairs of mills, &c. - -	100	
	——	775
Clear profit (being equal to 24$\frac{3}{5}$ per cent. on the capital), - - - -		L. 3725

CACAO.

The Cacao, or Chocolate Nut, is a native of South America, and is ſtill an article of conſiderable commerce with the Spaniards. In its cultivation, a level and ſheltered ſpot is choſen, in which the planter digs a number of holes a foot in length and width, and about ſix or eight inches deep. His next proceſs is to take the banana or ſome other

large leaf, and to place it within the circumference of each hole, leaving, however, the ſides of the leaf ſome inches above the ground, after which he rubs in the mould very lightly till the hole is filled. He then ſelects three nuts for each hole, folds the leaf over them, after having lightly covered them with mould, and places a ſmall ſtone on the top to prevent their opening. At the end of eight or ten days the leaves are opened, and the plant is then ſheltered with palm leaves ſtuck in the ground; and alſo the Erythrina or bean tree, for the young cacao will only flouriſh in the ſhade. If the three nuts ſpring up, one of them is cut down as ſoon as the plants are 18 or 20 inches high. It ſeldom happens that the other two take root.

The tree is in full perfection at its eighth year, and frequently bears for 20; but many plantations of cacao have periſhed without any viſible cauſe. The ſuperſtitious have always regarded comets as harbingers of its deſtruction. But in ſpite of this fatality, the Britiſh Weſt Indies at one period abounded in plantations of this commodity, and its cultivation would ſtill continue extenſive and profitable were it not for the heavy hand of miniſterial exaction. At preſent, the only cacao plantations of any account, in our colonies, are in Grenada and Dominica; the quantity exported from which iſlands, I believe, amounts, on an average, to ſomething more than 400,000 pounds weight, valued in the London market at 10 or 11,000 pounds Sterling.

GINGER.

Ginger was conveyed from the Eaſt to the Weſt Indies by one Franciſco de Mendoza; and as far back as the year 1547, it was exported to Old Spain from thence to the amount of 22,053 cwt. Ginger is of two ſorts, the black and the white; the former is procured by preſervation in boiling water, the latter by inſolation, and is conſiderably more valuable. Both ſpecies of the article are procured with no more attention to cultivation than potatoes in Great Britain, that is, merely planting and digging, unleſs where they are intended for ſweetmeats, in which caſe they are dug while its fibres are tender and full of juice. The average quantity imported into Britain from her own iſlands is ſtated at 10,000 bags of one cwt. each, which ſells at London at the rate of 40s. the cwt.

ARNOTTO.

This indigenous plant is called, by Bolanets, Bixa. It riſes to the height of ſeven or eight feet, and produces long hairy pods, ſomewhat reſembling thoſe of a cheſnut. In theſe pods the ſeeds are found, which have an unpleaſant ſmell, and reſemble red lead mixed with oil in appearance. Indeed, it was uſed by the native Indians as paint in decorating their bodies, at the time theſe iſlands were firſt diſcovered. The method of extracting

the pulp is by boiling the ſeeds till fully extricated, and then taking them away. The water is then drawn off, and the ſediment dried in ſhallow veſſels. Thus prepared, it is uſed in the compoſition of Spaniſh drugs, and many wonderful effects are aſcribed to its medicinal qualities. The Dutch heighten the colour of their butter by infuſing it, and it is ſaid to be uſed in ſmaller quantities even in Engliſh dairies. Arnotto is, however, upon the whole, a commodity little in demand, and of no great commercial conſequence.

ALOES.

The moſt valuable ſpecies of this commodity is that called Socotra, but the only ſpecies known to our colonies is the Hepatic. It is propagated by the plantation of ſuckers, and will thrive in thoſe dry and barren ſoils where leſs hardy vegetables would ſpeedily periſh. When the plant is pulled by the root, it is carefully cleanſed and put into nets or baſkets, which are boiled in large caldrons, and always renewed till the liquor grows ſtrong and black. The proceſs of boiling is repeated in another veſſel till it becomes of the conſiſtency of honey; after which it is poured into gourds, and then dried and ſent to market.

PIMENTO, OR ALL-SPICE.

This elegant production grows ſpontaneouſly,

but in more abundance in hilly ſituations near the ſea, forming extenſive groves of the moſt delicious fragrance. It is purely the child of nature, and mocks every attempt to improve its qualities. A pimento walk is procured by no other labour than appropriating a piece of woodland in the neighbourhood of a plantation already exiſting, or in a country where the ſcattered trees are found in a native ſtate, the woods of which being fallen, the trees are ſuffered to remain on the ground till they become rotten and periſh. In the courſe of twelve months after the firſt ſeaſon, abundance of young pimento trees will be found growing vigorouſly in all parts of the land.

There is not in the vegetable world a more beautiful production than a young pimento. The trunk is ſmooth and gloſſy, free from bark, and 15 or 20 feet high; its leaves are of a deep green, like thoſe of a bay tree, and form a beautiful contraſt to its white exuberant flowers. The leaves are equally odoriferous with the fruit. As to its preparation for ſale, the berries are always gathered green, for the admiſſion of ripened fruit would conſiderably diminiſh the value of the commodity. They are gathered by the hand, ſpread on a terrace, and expoſed to the ſun till they become of a reddiſh brown; and when dry are ſent to market. A ſingle tree has been known to yield one cwt. of dried ſpice, or 150 lbs. of the raw fruit; but as good crops are only contingent, the value of the commodity is not ſo alluring as others, ſo that many

plantations of pimento are now exchanged for ſugar. Jamaica is the only one of our colonies which produces it, and there are annually exported about 6000 bags of 112 pound each. It is ſold in common years at 10d. per lb. the duty attached to it being 3d.

BOOK VI.

GOVERNMENT AND COMMERCE.

CHAPTER I.

Colonial Eſtabliſhments—Of the Captain-General, or Chief Governor; his Powers and Privileges—Some Reflections on the General Choice of Perſons for this High Office—Lieutenant-General, Lieutenant-Governor, and Preſident—Of the Council; their Office and Functions—Origin of their Claim to a Share in the Legiſlature—Its Neceſſity, Propriety, and Legality conſidered—Some Correction in the Conſtitution of this Body propoſed.

THE internal conſtitution of the Britiſh Weſt Indies conforms, in almoſt all reſpects, to the conſtitution of England. The balance of power which, in the mother country, divides the legiſlature of the mother country into three branches, is imitated by theſe colonies, whoſe different orders conſiſt of a governor, whoſe prerogative reſembles the King's; a council or upper houſe; and a body of repreſentatives choſen by the people, ſimilar to the Britiſh Houſe of Commons, but more fairly and equally elected by their conſtituents.

GOVERNOR.

EVERY chief governor in the Weſt India Iſlands, as commander in chief of the forces in his juriſdiction, has the appointment of all officers not upon the ſtaff; and, in a civil capacity, nominates and ſuperſedes the judges of the different courts of common law, the cuſtodes of the pariſhes, the juſtices of the peace, and others employed in ſimilar departments. The advice of this council, which he is bound to aſk, cannot be looked upon as any conſiderable check upon the exertion of this prerogative; for he has the continual reſource of expelling all oppoſers, on frivolous pretences, and filling their places *inſtanter* with more complying members. In the general aſſembly, which is ſummoned, diſſolved, prorogued, and adjourned at his pleaſure, he has a negative voice; and in this alſo his council offer him their advice. He has the power of appointing *pro tempore* perſons of his own chooſing, to occupy ſuch places as have not been filled up by the King; and the power of ſuch ſucceſſors continues till the one choſen at home arrive to ſuperſede them. In caſes of an extraordinary nature, the governor has even been known to ſuperſede, for a time, officers of high and lucrative appointments, who had been nominated by other powers, and of filling their places by others, till the King's pleaſure ſhould be known. Like the King of Britain, he pardons the condemned culprit of every deſcription, unleſs thoſe guilty of murder

and high treaſon; and even in theſe caſes he can reſpite, till word be ſent to Britain, and his Majeſty's injunctions ſent back.

In general, every governor in the Weſt Indies exerciſes the extenſive powers of the Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain; being keeper of the great ſeal, and preſiding in the high court of chancery. As ordinary, he appoints to all church benefices, gives licenſes for marriages, and is ſole judge of the conſiſtorial and eccleſiaſtical law. He preſides in the court of error, and determines upon all appeals of the kind liable to be brought before this court from other courts of common law. As vice-admiral of the Weſt Indies, he has the right of jetſen flotſam, &c. and grants commiſſion to privateers, through the medium of the court of vice-admiralty. This court, it may not be improper to obſerve, is inveſted with a power concurrent with that of the court of records. When an act of parliament relating to the trade and revenues of the Britiſh colonies in America is infringed, the judge of this court (to the great injury of the coloniſts) decides, from his own authority, without the intervention of a jury; and is nominated to his office by a gift of the Crown.

Beſides the profits of ſeveral employments, the governor of every colony has a liberal ſalary attached to his office of government; but, in order that he may have no temptation in view to court the favour of the leading men of the aſſembly, he is not allowed to accept of any ſalary, unleſs it be fixed

(in ſuch a manner as cannot be recalled) within the ſpace of one year after his arrival in the Weſt Indies.

Conſidering the fallibility of human nature, the diſtance of the governor's ſeat of juriſdiction from the mother country, and, above all, his extenſive prerogative, it is not wonderful that he ſhould at times be intoxicated by the influence of his power. That ſuch extenſive authority, more unlimited even than the power of the King of Britain, ſhould not be conferred without much caution, muſt be evident to every one; but it is a truth, to be regretted, that in the nomination of this important office, attention is not invariably paid to the merit of the individual; and that, from the influence of party ſpirit, men diſtinguiſhed for no other qualities than vice and ignorance, are ſent out to recruit, by the emoluments of a government, the fortunes which have been ruined by their former profligate diſſipation at home. From perſons ſo deſtitute of character and ability, what evils may not be expected? Indeed, ſuppoſing the governor ſent out by the Britiſh miniſtry to poſſeſs a ſound underſtanding, and an uncorrupted mind, unleſs acquainted with the laws of thoſe whom he is to govern, he muſt be betrayed into many inconſiſtencies; and the improper actions they thus commit, prove fertile ſources of future damage, by ſtanding as precedents of injuſtice. A glaring inſtance of this was afforded, while North America was a Britiſh colony, by a governor of one of the northern provinces, who ordered a criminal to be

hung ſome days before the time ordained by his ſentence. "He meant well (ſays Stokes, who relates the anecdote), but being a military man, conceived that, as he poſſeſſed the power to reprieve after ſentence, he had power to execute alſo when he pleaſed." And the criminal was actually hanged ſome days ſooner than his ſentence enjoined, as the governor ordered. Nor could his excellency be perſuaded that, by this very act, he was committing felony. Another military governor, the ſame author informs us, ſuſpended a gentleman from the council, becauſe he had married his daughter without his conſent. Beſides theſe ſpecimens of unwarrantable ſtretches of power, many inſtances of miſconduct could be produced, ſtill more glaring in their enormity, and more baneful in their effects to the public; but the taſk of numbering faults, is no way pleaſant, and ſhall be therefore declined.

The moſt flagrant impropriety in the nomination of a Weſt Indian governor, is the ſelection of ſuch men as cannot be expected, from their paſt ſituations in life, to be acquainted with the laws of their country. That ſome knowledge of law is requiſite in a governor, is evident from the nature of his office; yet the military profeſſion, of all the moſt unlikely to furniſh men minutely acquainted with that ſcience, is the general ſource from whence the Weſt Indies are ſupplied with rulers. It would be improper, however, not to ſtate, that ſome governors, whoſe ſituation in the world precluded them from being acute lawyers, have filled their governments

with honour. For inſtance, Sir William Trelawney, Sir Baſil Keith, and Thomas Earl of Effingham, were men of uprightneſs, as well as judgment, and were juſtly revered by the people. The gratitude of Jamaica, in particular, was ſo ſtrong to the memory of the laſt named governor, that they voted a magnificent monument to be erected to his name; and evinced their veneration of his merit, by the words with which it was inſcribed. But partial inſtances of this nature cannot apologize for the general impropriety of ſelecting for governors to the colonies, men equally deſtitute of worth, of integrity, and the knowledge requiſite for their ſtation.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, AND PRESIDENT.

WHEN a government comprehends ſeveral iſlands, a lieutenant-general is uſually appointed to be the next in ſucceſſion, who is commonly lieutenant-governor of one of the iſlands included in the juriſdiction of the captain-general. Each of theſe iſlands, during the abſence of the chief governor, is managed by a lieutenant-governor, or more frequently by the preſident of the council; the lieutenant-governor's appointment being, in fact, a ſinecure of 1200l. a year. A lieutenant-governor, of dormant commiſſion, is ſeldom appointed in Jamaica while the commander in chief is preſent; for, when that officer reſigns, or obtains leave of abſence, a lieutenant-

governor is diſpatched from home, who enjoys the full power and profits of the office. About the year 1767, when the Marquis of Lanſdown, then Earl of Shelburne, was ſecretary of ſtate, ſome gentlemen of Jamaica ſolicited the miniſter to have a deputy-governor, who ſhould be ſtationary on the iſland. Lord Shelburne, to obviate the expence of the office, took away from the profits of the governor the command of a fortification, called Fort Charles; and bargained with Lord Trelawney, that he ſhould reſign Fort Charles to Sir William Dalling. The reſult of this ſtipulation was, however, unfavourable. Lord George Germaine, Lord Shelburne's ſucceſſor in the miniſtry, regarding 1000l. per annum as no deſpicable object, did not chooſe to continue the ſalary of the command of Fort Charles, as a fund for ſupporting the deputy-governor, aſſigned it over to one of his dependents, who reſides at home, and enjoys the profits of the office, while the fort is commanded by his deputy's deputy.

THE COUNCIL.

The members of this board, who are appointed by the King, and inſerted in the governor's inſtructions, amount, in their full complement, either to ten or twelve, in proportion to the ſize of the iſland. When their number is reduced below ſeven, the commander in chief is enjoined to ſupply new members to that amount, but to no greater. Theſe members, by courteſy ſtyled Honourable, take precedency

next the governor, and the eldeſt ſupplies his place when he is abſent or dead. They ſtand in the ſame reſpect to the governor as the privy council to his Majeſty; but I conceive that he can act even in contradiction to their opinion. They are nominated juſtices in every commiſſion of the peace, and ſit with the governor as judges in the courts of error and appeal from the court of records. Laſtly, Independent of the governor, they form an upper branch of the legiſlature, claiming the privilege of parliament, ordering attendance, entering proteſts, and keeping up all the offices and inſignia of a Britiſh Houſe of Parliament. This double office of legiſlators and privy council may ſeem inconſiſtent. Governor Lyttleton ſays, "The admitting ſuch a diſtinction may be ſuppoſed to free them from all obligation of the oath they take as counſellors; becauſe their duty to the people, as legiſlators, may ſeem to oblige them very frequently to ſupport opinions repugnant to a governor's." But this objection is unjuſt; for the oath they take as counſellors, certainly does not bind them to act indiſcriminately, according to the direction of the governor. As counſellors, as legiſlators, their duty is equally binding, to ſerve the true intereſts of the people.

Territorial qualification is not indiſpenſably requiſite to the admittance of counſellors as of members of the aſſembly. Perſons are therefore, I am afraid, too frequently admitted, who can have little real concern in the welfare of the community, and who are conſequently more obſequious to the mea-

ſures of the governor than to the dictates of public utility. But it frequently happens, that even theſe men, unconnected with the intereſts of the country, are leſs overawed by the influence of the governor than the members who have property in the iſlands. In fact, the inſtability of this board, and the power of ſuſpenſion lodged in the hands of the governor, makes it at all times dependent; and until that evil be remedied, the people have more to fear from its compliance to the governor, than the governor from its attachment to the people. It is given as the decided opinion of many intelligent people, that this board of council have actually no right to ſit as legiſlators, that their real and appropriate office is to ſit as aſſeſſors to the governor, and that they are warranted by no pretenſion to the branch of power they now poſſeſs. In ſupport of this aſſertion, it has been urged, in the firſt place, that a colonial council bears no ſimilitude to the peers of Great Britain, and conſequently ought not to ſupply their place in the government of the Weſt Indies. The privileges enjoyed by the Engliſh Houſe of Lords are ſacred and independent; and though the ſovereign can add to their number, he cannot diminiſh it by any lawful exertion of his power; but the councils of the Weſt Indies, as has been mentioned before, can be changed as well as prorogued by the arbitrary will of the viceroy, and are therefore endowed with privileges by no means comparable to the Britiſh Lords. It has been farther urged, that even the prerogative of the Crown does

not warrant impoſing the authority of ſuch a body of men upon the coloniſts. The King, ſay the abettors of this aſſertion, has the right of putting a *veto* upon the proceedings of the other branches of the legiſlature; but being, at the ſame time, from the nature of his office, not a ſeparate legiſlator himſelf, he cannot juſtly aſſume the character of ſuch, far leſs can he impoſe an authority upon any part of his dominions which it requires the united aſſent of all the parts of the conſtitution to make ſacred. To thoſe who object to their authority from arguments of this nature, it may be replied, that if, on ſeveral occaſions, it ſhould be found that the exiſtence of ſuch a power ſhould be indiſpenſably requiſite to the welfare of the community where they are appointed, it is not abſolutely neceſſary to ſuppoſe that their origin has been conſtitutionally legal; for the view of public advantage ought to ſuperſede law. But in aſſerting the utility of this branch of Weſt Indian government, I do not mean to imply that it was originally intended that there ſhould be a ſeparate body of this kind, intermediate between the aſſembly and the governor. Its origin ſeems to have been founded in the want of nobility in the Weſt Indies, and the neceſſity of having ſome legiſlative houſe, not intermediate between the governor and the aſſembly, but between the aſſembly and the Crown. In order to corroborate the influence of the King, the governor was admitted into this convention, and was farther inſtructed to tranſmit, from time to time, the names

of ſuch of the principal inhabitants as might appear beſt qualified to ſupply vacancies in the council; and accordingly it is very rare that any perſon is appointed who has not been previouſly recommended by the governor.

The government ſtill ſubſiſting in Barbadoes is a ſufficient proof that the original object of inſtituting the council was this; for there, in enacting laws, the governor and council form but one conſtituent branch in the conſtitution, ſitting and deliberating together. In fact, throughout all the royal governments in the Weſt Indies, this practice was originally followed; nor was it diſcontinued till the governor's averſion to become odious to the aſſembly by paſſing unpopular bills, induced him to decline attending in the council, and to allow the taſk of enacting diſagreeable laws to be performed by the board of council alone. The council themſelves, we may ſuppoſe, were not unwilling to deliberate ſeparately; the Crown found it conducive to its own purpoſes; nor did the repreſentatives of the people reſiſt this mode of deliberating, not regarding it in the light of an innovation. If they had thought ſuch, they had it in their power to proteſt againſt the change; but it does not appear that any colony oppoſed the right of the council to negative bills without the concurrence of the governor. By the ſame right which they exerciſe of rejecting bills, independent of the opinion of the governor, they are evidently entitled to amend particular clauſes in all bills but thoſe for raiſing mo-

ney; becauſe, if the houſe of repreſentatives diſlike their amendments, they can effect their purpoſe in an indirect manner, by rejecting the bill after its firſt ſtage. The authority of the council ſeems to extend thus far and no farther. That ſuch an authority, exerciſed freely and independently (laying aſide at preſent all objections againſt the influence poſſeſſed by the governor over the council), is of eſſential advantage to the conſtitution, ſeems evident, if we reflect upon the diſagreeable diſcord which muſt otherwiſe take place were not the intereſts of the people and the Crown balanced by an intermediate body. Whatever may be ſaid of its illegal origin, it ſeems to claim the ſanction of preſcription, and to be at preſent in the eye of law a legally conſtituted body. It may not be improper to remark, before concluding this apology for the ſeparation of the council, that the colonies have actually been benefited by it, ſince it confirms them in the much wiſhed for privilege of having their laws immediately ſanctioned by the governor, who, unable to do ſo while conjoined with the board of council, was obliged to tranſmit them to Britain to wait the tedious confirmation of their authority by his Majeſty.

What has been ſaid, does not plead, in the moſt diſtant manner, in defence of that undue influence which the governor actually enjoys over the deliberations of this body. The remedy of this evil demands very ſerious conſideration, and the more ſo, becauſe the rights of the council are ſo unſteadily

fixed, that in ſome inſtances they have been degraded beyond the dignity they ought unqueſtionably to claim, and in others they have aſſumed ſuch powers as are utterly inconſiſtent with the liberty of the people. The aſſembly are the fitteſt body for effecting this change, and they ſeem competent to bring it about by a proper exertion of their ſtrength. It ſhould be their object, on the one hand, that the right of ſuſpenſion, now veſted in the governor, be at leaſt conſiderably abridged, in order to give energy and independence to the council; an advantage never to be enjoyed while its members can be ſuſpended upon the moſt frivolous pretences. On the other hand, caution is requiſite even in communicating this reſtoration of vigour. To make them incapable of removal would be a dangerous expedient, if we may judge from the unwarrantable authority which ſome colonies in the Weſt Indies have arrogated to themſelves, even in ſpite of the general dependence of councils upon the governors. At different times they have fined of their own authority, have arbitrarily impriſoned for contempt, and have even claimed a right of originating money bills at their own board, amending money bills paſſed by the aſſembly, and appropriating the public revenue. A council diſpoſed to ſuch arbitrary meaſures ſhould be reſiſted, inſtead of being corroborated by the people. To permit the increaſe of ſuch illegitimate power, would be to found an impregnable and tyrannical ſyſtem of ariſtocracy.

CHAPTER II.

Houſe of Aſſembly—Prerogative denied to be in the Crown of eſtabliſhing in the Colonies Conſtitutions leſs free than that of Great Britain—Moſt of the Britiſh Weſt Indian Iſlands ſettled by Emigrants from the Mother Country—Royal Proclamations and Charters are only Confirmations of Ancient Rights—Barbadoes and ſome other Iſlands originally made Counties Palatine—Their Local Legiſlatures how conſtituted, and the Extent of their Juriſdiction pointed out—Their Allegiance to, and Dependence on, the Crown of Great Britain, how ſecured—Conſtitutional Extent of Parliamentary Influence over them.

THE object of this diſſertation on the colonial aſſemblies, is to diſplay the principles on which Britain confirmed to her ſubjects in the Weſt Indies the right of enacting their own laws; after which, it remains to be explained by what means the allegiance and ſubordination of theſe colonies are ſecured to the mother country. The ſubject has undergone diſcuſſion from many writers, and on that account no novelty can be expected; but to be plain and perſpicuous is at preſent entirely our wiſh, and the rights of which we treat happily depend upon no metphyſical arguments.

It has been lately aſſerted, that the Crown of Britain had a juſt title to inveſt the Weſt Indian councils with legiſlative authority, becauſe the meaſure is founded in juſtice, and is of great utility to the public intereſt; but it is not, however, to be deduced from this maxim, that the Crown of Britain, by the ſame right, is warranted to impoſe upon her colonies

any form that his Majeſty may think proper, or that ſuch a form is to be eſtabliſhed as does not conduce to the freedom of the colonial inhabitants. It is true, though juſtice and utility be the principal pillars of the liberty of the colonies, yet even were the dictates of propriety ſet aſide, the charters, proclamations, and grants, have given to the Britiſh coloniſts in America a legal and conſtitutional right to the privileges of Britons. But, indeed, it is ceding by far too much to ſuppoſe, for one moment, that were there no charters and proclamations in exiſtence to ratify the rights of Weſt Indians, that their rights, as Britiſh ſubjects, are therefore to be called in queſtion. The law of England certainly does grant to all the provinces of the Britiſh dominions the full privileges of the mother country, whether theſe provinces were obtained by conqueſt, or colonized by emigrants from home. Of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in America, ſome were obtained by force, and others occupied upon being found deſtitute of inhabitants; but even the injuſtice of forcing the original natives from their poſſeſſions does not impart a right to Europeans of ſubjugating theſe unjuſt invaders, after the mother country has participated in the profits, as well as the guilt of the invaſion. To uſe the words of Mr. Long, " Shall it be affirmed, that if Engliſh forces conquer, or Engliſh adventurers poſſeſs themſelves of diſtant lands, and thereby extend the empire, and add to the trade and opulence of England, the Engliſhmen ſo poſſeſſing and planting ſuch territory ought, in conſideration of the great ſervices

thereby effected to the nation, to be treated worſe than aliens, to forfeit all the rights of Engliſh ſubjects, and to be left to the mercy of an abſolute and arbitrary form of government.."

In addition to Mr. Long's ſtatement of the argument, may be quoted the opinion of Locke on the right of a conqueror over the conquered. "The conqueror gets no power (ſays Mr. Locke), by his conqueſt, over thoſe who are conquered with him. They that fought on his ſide muſt at leaſt be as much freemen as before. And moſt commonly they ſerve upon terms, and on condition to ſerve with their leader, and enjoy a part of the ſpoil and other advantages that attend the conquering ſword; or at leaſt have a part of the ſubdued country beſtowed upon them. And the conquering people are not, I hope, to be ſlaves by conqueſt, and wear their laurels only to ſhow that they are ſacrifices to their leader's triumph. We are told by ſome that the Engliſh monarchy is founded on the Norman conqueſt, and that our princes have thereby a title to abſolute dominion; which, if it were true (as by hiſtory appears otherwiſe), and that William had a right to make war on this iſland, yet his dominion by conqueſt could reach no farther than to the Saxons and Britons that were then inhabitants of this country. The Normans that came with him and helped to conquer, and all deſcended from them, are freemen, and no ſubjects by conqueſt, let that give what dominion it will."

The opinion of Locke has been quoted at full

length, becauſe it furniſhes an unanſwerable argument againſt thoſe who, founding all the right to freedom which individuals enjoy upon the baſis of forms and conſtitutions, throw out of their conſideration all the duties which we owe to our fellowmen, in contributing to their happineſs from motives of natural juſtice. From attending to this remark, it will therefore appear evident, that the royal proclamations and charters iſſued from Britiſh princes to their ſubjects in the Weſt Indies were not meant to declare that their liberty was now given them, and ſhould henceforth commence, but to acknowledge that their liberties had formerly exiſted and ſhould ſtill remain undiſturbed. The return required for protecting them in the poſſeſſion of theſe rights, beſtowed by nature and not by man, was allegiance to lawful authority. Of theſe rights, one of the moſt material was this, that the laws by which they were governed ſhould be enacted with their own conſent, and that the framers of the law ſhould be equally bound with thoſe who were governed by it. Thus, in America and the Weſt India Iſlands were eſtabliſhed colonial aſſemblies, whoſe members, delegated by the people, and living in theſe countries, were too intimately allied to the intereſts of the ſtate not to ſupport them with all their power. It might appear at firſt ſight a reaſonable enough allowance to the colonies, that they ſhould be governed by their own laws only, in this reſpect, that they ſhould delegate repreſentatives to the Britiſh parliament, and thus be fairly repreſented. In fact,

Barbadoes and the Charaibean Iſlands, as well as ſome provinces of North America, were actually modelled at one period into this form of repreſentation. But the abſurdity of attempting to rule ſtates ſo far from the mother country upon the ſyſtem of delegation, was ſoon diſcovered, and the propriety of colonial aſſemblies confirmed by experience. The coloniſts have, therefore, an indubitable right to repreſentation of ſome kind; and ſince it has been found that to repreſent them by delegates ſent to Britain is impoſſible, the propriety of colonial aſſemblies incontrovertibly follows.

The aſſembly, thus conſtituted by juſtice, aſſimilates in its formation, and the extent of its juriſdiction, to the parliament of Great Britain. The ſuffrages being taken, the elected member is ſummoned by royal authority. The aſſembly when convened are addreſſed by his Majeſty's repreſentative, and proceed to hear grievances, and correct thoſe abuſes which are liable to their diſcuſſion. They commit for contempts, impoſe taxes and laws, and exerting along with the governor the higheſt acts of legiſlation, on ſome occaſions conſign the victims of law to execution, even before the royal aſſent has been received *.

* The following proceedings of the legiſlature of Jamaica will convey to the reader, who gives himſelf the trouble of peruſing this note, a diſtant idea of the power claimed by the colonial aſſemblies:

The only reſtriction laid upon the deliberative powers of the aſſemblies of the colonies, is, that, in

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" To his Honour ROGER HOPE ELLETSON, Eſquire, his Majeſty's Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief in and over this his Majeſty's Iſland of Jamaica, &c. &c.

" May it pleaſe your Honour,

" We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the aſſembly of Jamaica, thoroughly convinced of your Honour's readineſs to hear, and inclination to redreſs, as much as in you lies, every grievance that may affect any of his Majeſty's ſubjects, beg leave to repreſent to you one which calls aloud for immediate relief, it being in itſelf of the moſt dangerous and alarming nature, and having already given birth to ſuch confuſions and diſtractions in this unhappy country, as have not at any time before been known in it.

" Our anceſtors, Sir, who ſettled this Britiſh colony, were Engliſhmen, and brought with them a right to the laws of England as their inheritance, which they did not, nor could forfeit by ſettling here. Ever ſince civil government was firſt eſtabliſhed among us, which was very ſoon after the Reſtoration of King Charles the Second, we have enjoyed in this colony a conſtitution and form of government as nearly reſembling that of our mother country as it was perhaps poſſible to make it; our lives, our liberties, and our properties, ſecured to us by the ſame laws, have ever been determined and adjudged by ſimilar juriſdictions, and ſuch monies as have been neceſſary for the ſupport of his Majeſty's government here, have, as in England, ever been raiſed upon the people, with their own conſent, given by their repreſentatives in aſſembly; our courts of juſtice, where life, liberty, and property are adjudged, are governed by the ſame laws, and ſtand in the ſame degrees of ſubordination to one another, as the courts which they reſpectively ſtand for, do in England; our houſe of aſſembly, as repreſenting the whole body of our people, does, and ever did, hold the ſame rank in the ſyſtem of our conſtitution, as the Houſe of Commons does in that of our mother country; here,

their trade-laws, they muſt act not repugnantly to thoſe of the mother country; and it is expected, in return,

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as in England, our repreſentatives in aſſembly are the grand inqueſt of our community; they have the power, and it is their duty to inquire into the corruptions of office, the abuſes of government, and the ill-adminiſtration of juſtice, and for that purpoſe it is that this body has here, as in our mother country, ever enjoyed a ſuperiority over all the courts of juſtice, and a power of examining their conduct; and all judges, magiſtrates, and public officers, have ever been amenable to the aſſembly, and their conduct liable to its inſpection; and here, as in England, we owe it to the wholeſome and frequent exertions of ſuch a power in the repreſentative body of the people, that we are at this day a free people: without it we can have no ſecurity or defence againſt the corruption of judges, and the abuſes which may happen in every department of adminiſtration.

"It is againſt a moſt flagrant, unprovoked, and unprecedented attack and violation, which Mr. Lyttleton, our late chancellor, made upon this indubitable right of the people, that we now reſort to your Honour for redreſs.

"In December 1764, Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Niel, two men who had been committed by the aſſembly for breach of privilege, and were in cuſtody of Edward Bolt, the meſſenger of the houſe, by virtue of the ſpeaker's warrant, did, in contempt of the power and juriſdiction of the houſe, apply in the firſt inſtance to Mr. Lyttelton, as chancellor, for writs of habeas corpus upon the ſtatute of the thirty-firſt of Charles the Second, and upon the return of the ſaid writs, he did, in a court of chancery which he called for that purpoſe, releaſe the priſoners, and declare as follows: 'That it did not appear to him, from the words of any act of parliament, or of any act of the governor, council, and aſſembly of this iſland, or of his Majeſty's commiſſion or inſtructions to his Excellency as governor of this iſland, or by any other means whatſoever, that the commitment of the ſaid Pierce Cooke into the cuſtody of the ſaid Edward Bolt is legal; and his Excellency the chancellor was

that the legiſlature of Britain will not interpoſe in affairs belonging to the colonies, in order that theſe

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therefore pleaſed to order, adjudge, and decree, and it is hereby ordered, adjudged, and decreed, That the ſaid Pierce Cooke be, by the authority of this court, releaſed and diſcharged from the cuſtody of the ſaid Edward Bolt; and did alſo make the ſame declaration and order as to the ſaid Lachlan M'Neil,' which orders and declarations of his, he did moſt irregularly call decrees, and order them to be enrolled among the records of the court of chancery.

"It is evident from the opinions of the ableſt lawyers in England, ever ſince the paſſing of that ſtatute, from the opinions and declarations of judges, the uniform determinations of all the courts in England, and the conſtant declarations and practice of the Houſe of Commons, that the ſaid ſtatute was not, nor could be, intended to extend to commitments by either houſe of parliament, and that the Houſe of Commons is the only proper judge of its own privileges and commitments. This determination of Mr. Lyttelton's tends, therefore, manifeſtly to degrade the repreſentatives of the people, in the ſyſtem of our conſtitution, from that rank and authority which is held by the like body in our mother country, and if ſuffered to remain, would ſubvert the fundamentals of that ſyſtem, by giving the court of chancery a power to controul the proceedings of the aſſembly, and by reducing them to a dangerous and unconſtitutional dependence upon governors, would leave the people without that protection againſt arbitrary power, which nothing but a free and independent aſſembly can give them.

"Every court of juſtice, from the meaneſt quarter ſeſſion up to the two houſes of parliament, has a power of committing for contempt, and this power requires no act of parliament to confer it, it being incident to the inſtitution of every court of juſtice, and neceſſary for its exiſtence, for it would be impoſſible to ſupport any authority without it.

"The courts of juſtice here ſtanding in the ſame degrees of ſubordination to one another as they reſpectively do in England,

may not be diſtracted by ſubjection to two legiſlatures ſo remote in ſituation.

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commitments by the inferior may be, and frequently are, examined and determined by the ſuperior courts; and as commitments by the Houſe of Commons cannot be, nor ever were, diſcharged by any of the inferior courts, ſo this extraordinary act of Mr. Lyttelton ſtands in our country without a precedent, ſuch a thing having never before his time been attempted.

"The power of commitment by the Houſe of Commons is their's by the common law, as well as their privileges, of which they are the only competent judges, for they judge of theſe matters by the law and uſage of parliament, which is part of the common law.

"As all the inferior courts here enjoy and exerciſe the ſame powers with thoſe they ſtand for in England, it is ſurely reaſonable and juſt that the repreſentatives of the people here, called by the ſame authority, and conſtituted for the ſame ends, ſhould alſo enjoy the ſame powers with thoſe of Great Britain.

"We beg leave to repreſent further to your Honour, that by the thirty-firſt clauſe of an act of the governor, council, and aſſembly of this iſland, entitled, 'An act for granting a revenue to his Majeſty, his heirs, and ſucceſſors, for the ſupport of the government of this iſland, and for reviving and perpetuating the acts and laws thereof,' which has received the royal approbation, it is declared, 'That all ſuch laws and ſtatutes of England as have been at any time eſteemed, introduced, uſed, accepted or received as laws in this iſland, ſhall and are hereby declared to be and continue laws of this his Majeſty's iſland of Jamaica for ever;' and that the aſſemblies of Jamaica, as appears by their minutes, conſidering it their duty to aſſimilate their proceedings to thoſe of the Houſe of Commons, have conſtantly governed themſelves in caſes of commitment, and in the exerciſe of their juriſdiction, by the law and uſage of parliament, which being undoubtedly part of the law of England, the uſe and benefit thereof was confirmed to them by virtue of the above act beyond a poſſibility of doubt.

Notwithſtanding all the rights which I have aſſerted belong, independent of all other authority, to the

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" This arbitrary meaſure of Mr. Lyttleton, ſo totally unprecedented either in England or here, ſo repugnant to reaſon, to juſtice, and law, and ſo evidently ſubverſive of our rights, liberties, and properties, will therefore, we doubt not, be conſidered by your Honour as it deſerves to be; and as it marks that gentleman's adminiſtration with the moſt odious colours, ſo, we truſt, that the deſtruction of it will diſtinguiſh and adorn your's.

" It is in full confidence of your Honour's juſtice and love of liberty, that we this day, in the name and behalf of ourſelves, and of all the good people in this colony, lay before your Honour the ill conſequences and injuſtice of the aforeſaid determination, and beſeech you, as the only means of quieting the diſturbance and apprehenſions they have raiſed in the minds of his Majeſty's moſt loyal and faithful ſubjects, to give orders that the ſame be vacated, and the enrolment thereof cancelled from the records of the court of chancery, in ſuch a way, that no traces may remain of ſo wicked and dangerous a precedent."

The preceding application from the houſe of aſſembly having been ſubmitted by the lieutenant-governor to the council for their advice, the board addreſſed him as follows:

" May it pleaſe your Honour,

" We, his Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the council of Jamaica, have, agreeably to your Honour's meſſage, laying before us the addreſs of the houſe of aſſembly to your Honour, taken into our ſerious conſideration the ſubject-matter thereof: we have alſo examined and conſidered the proceedings now in the office of the regiſter of the court of chancery, and the determination of his Excellency the late chancellor, touching the releaſe of Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Niel, from a commitment of the aſſembly. Although we have the moſt favourable opinion of the late chancellor's intention in that deciſion, yet finding that no chancellor or judge

inhabitants of the colonies, yet ſtill their allegiance and ſubordination are perfectly ſecured to Britain,

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in this iſland, ever before took upon himſelf to make any determination upon a warrant or commitment of either branch of the legiſlature, it is with concern we obſerve, that ſuch proceeding of the late chancellor in ſo new, in ſo delicate a caſe, by diſcharging the ſaid Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Niel from the commitment of the houſe of aſſembly, was unprecedented and irregular.

"It is alſo with ſorrow of heart we have ſeen and felt this his Majeſty's colony, ever ſince that determination, labouring under a variety of diſtreſſes, flowing chiefly from the apprehenſions of his Majeſty's ſubjects, that the eſtabliſhing a precedent of this nature in the court of chancery, might lay a foundation for chancellors and judges of inferior courts to interfere in, and to take upon them to determine on the privileges of the legiſlative bodies of this iſland.

"Permit us therefore to recommend it to your Honour, as the only expedient which we conceive will be effectual to quiet the minds of the people, to unite the ſeveral branches of the legiſlature, and to reſtore peace and tranquillity to this country, that you will be pleaſed to cauſe the ſaid determination made by the late chancellor, whereby the ſaid Pierce Cooke and Lachlan M'Niel were diſcharged from their commitment, and all their proceedings thereon, to be brought before you, and in the preſence of the council and aſſembly, that you will be pleaſed to cauſe the regiſter of the ſaid court of chancery to enter a vacatur on the ſaid determination, or otherwiſe reverſe it in the moſt effectual manner, ſo that the ſame may not be made uſe of as a precedent in future."

On receiving this addreſs, the lieutenant-governor came into council, and having commanded the attendance of the aſſembly in the council-chamber, was pleaſed to make the following ſpeech:

"Gentlemen of the Council, Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of
"the Aſſembly,

"In conſequence of the addreſſes I have received from each of

by the extenſive influence which the Crown poſſeſſes over them. Thus, as to the ſupremacy of the Crown, among various other prerogatives, the King preſerves to himſelf not only the nomination of the

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your bodies, I now meet you here, and as the determination upon record in the office of the regiſter of the court of chancery, appears to have been irregular and unprecedented, whereby the minds of the people have been greatly diſquieted, and many diſtreſſes and evils have ariſen to this country; and having nothing ſo much at heart, as the ſupporting the honour and dignity of the Crown, and promoting the peace and happineſs of the people, I have, agreeably to your requeſts, taken, as chancellor, ſuch order therein, that the ſaid proceedings, and the entry upon record thereof, are vacated, annulled, and made void, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever; and for your further ſatisfaction herein, I have ordered the regiſter to attend forthwith in the council-chamber with the ſaid proceedings, and the book of records in which the ſame are entered, and that he do, in preſence of the three branches of the legiſlature of this iſland, enter a vacatur in the margent of the ſaid ſeveral proceedings, and the entries of the ſame in the ſaid book of records, and that he do in your preſence draw croſs lines over the ſaid proceedings and the entries thereof, in the uſual form and manner.

" This meaſure, adopted upon your united recommendation, cannot, I am perſuaded, fail of producing every happy conſequence, by reſtoring and firmly eſtabliſhing that harmony and unanimity ſo earneſtly wiſhed for, and ſo eſſentially neceſſary to his Majeſty's ſervice, and the welfare of this community."

The regiſter of the court of chancery attending, being called in, and having produced the records, and read the ſeveral proceedings in the ſaid addreſs mentioned, he did then, by the command, and in the preſence of his Honour, and in the preſence of the council and aſſembly, enter a vacatur in the margin of the ſaid ſeveral proceedings, and draw croſs lines over the ſaid proceedings and the entries thereof, and cancelled the ſeveral papers relating thereto.

ſeveral governors, the members of the council, and moſt of the public officers of all deſcriptions, but he poſſeſſes the right of putting his *veto* to a law, even after it has received the ſanction of his repreſentative, the governor of the colony where the law is propoſed. Nor is the regal influence leſs felt over the executive, than the legiſlative power within the colonies. The governor is uſually chancellor by his office; but an appeal lies to his Majeſty from every decree that he makes. The reaſon aſſigned in law for allowing ſuch appeals is this, that, without ſuch a check, the practice of law in the colonies might inſenſibly deviate from thoſe of the mother country, to the diminution of her ſuperiority.

Again, the King, as head of the empire, has the ſole prerogative of making peace and war, treaties, leagues and alliances with foreign ſtates, and the colonies are bound to ſtand to all conſequences dependent upon ſuch tranſactions, although the power which his Majeſty poſſeſſes of quartering the troops, of augmenting their number, and retaining them againſt the will of the aſſemblies, muſt be taken with a grain of allowance.

The power of making peace and war, which is veſted in the King of England, is amply checked by the interpoſition of parliament; and it is therefore juſt, that a power of ſimilar controul ſhould be enjoyed by the legiſlative bodies in the colonies. It has been, indeed, uſed as an argument againſt the inutility of checks of every kind, that military force can never be legally employed to unjuſt purpoſes,

or to violate the rights of the ſubject. The indiſputable power, however, which always attaches to the poſſeſſion of military force, is a ſufficient anſwer to ſuch reaſoning. Nor is it a perfect ſecurity to the liberties of the Weſt Indians to ſee their rights will be protected by their fellow ſubjects at home; the liberty of every one ſhould be upheld by his own protection, not be dependent on the ſympathy of another, although there is nothing more evident, than that the freedom of Britain is in the utmoſt danger, when the rights of the colonies are violated and overthrown; or, as it has been elegantly ſaid, "When the liberties of Britain ſhall be devoted, ſhe "will feel ſubjection, like the coldneſs of death, "creeping upon her from her extremities."

From reports made by the Lords of the Committee of Council on the ſubject of the ſlave trade, it appears that the value of the exports from Britain to the Weſt Indies, in the year 1787 (and ſince that time they certainly have not diminiſhed), amounted to 1,638,703l. 13s. 10d. the whole of which, except about 200,000l. conſiſted of Britiſh goods and manufactures. To this eſtimate we muſt likewiſe add the coſt of manufactures, of proviſions from Ireland, and wines from the Azores and Madeira, theſe being purchaſed with Britiſh capitals, and conveyed to the Weſt Indies circuitouſly in Britiſh ports. The lumber and fiſh of America, tranſported in Britiſh veſſels, ought to be included in the ſtatement.

The official accounts of the exports from Ireland for the years 1790, 1791, and 1792, make the ave-

rage value of these years amount to 277,218l. Sterling. We may bring the whole into one point by stating it thus:

Exports from Great Britain direct, -	L. 1638703	13	10	
——— from Ireland,	277218	0	0	
	L. 1915921	13	10	
Add 20 *per cent.* for freight, &c. &c. - -	383184	6	2	L. 2299106
Exports to Africa for the purchase of negroes, - - -				668255
——— from Madeira and the Azores,				30000
——— United States of America,				720000
——— British America, -				100506
Total,				L. 3817867

The imports from the West Indies into Great Britain, will appear from the following Table:

IMPORTS from the BRITISH WEST INDIES into GREAT BRITAIN, in 1788.

IMPORTS from the BRITISH WEST INDIES into GREAT BRITAIN, in 1788.

	Cwt.	Cwt.	L. s. d.	L. s. d.
Sugar, Montſerrat, Nevis, and St. Kitt's, -		242542 at 47s.	569973 14 0	
Antigua, - - - -	181813			
Grenada, - - - -	193783			
		375596 at 46s.	863870 16 0	
St. Vincent's, Tortola, and Anguilla, -	164976			
Jamaica, - - -	1124017			
		1288993 at 44s.	2835784 12 0	
Barbadoes, - - -	110955			
Dominica, - - -	47610			
		158565 at 45s.	356771 5 0	
		2865696		4626400 7 0
	Gallons.			
Rum, Jamaica, - - -	2917797	at 2s. 2d.	316094 13 6	
Other Iſlands, - - -	728645	at 2s.	72864 10 0	
	Cwt.			388959 3 6
Coffee, - - - -	32283	at 96s.		154958 8 0
	lbs.			
Cotton, - - - -	11618382	at 14d.		677738 19 0
	Cwt.			
Ginger, Jamaica, - - -	3892	at 30s.	5838 0 0	
Barbadoes, - - -	5755	at 44s.	12661 0 0	
				18499 0 0
Miſcellaneous articles, valued at the cuſtomhouſe prices, - - -			466322 15 5	
Add one-third, the uſual difference between the prices in the Inſpector-General's books, and the current prices at market, - -			155440 18 5	
				621763 13 10
			Total,	6488319 11 4

N n 3

No account has hitherto been given of the direct imports from these islands into Ireland and America, for the year 1788. Upon the authority of the Inspector General, I therefore give the following:

To Ireland, - - -	L. 127585	4	5
American States, - -	106460	8	0
British American Colonies, -	100506	17	10
Foreign West Indies, - -	18245	12	6
Africa, - - -	868	15	0
Total,	L. 443666	17	9

Considered as a British capital, the value of the West Indies has been estimated by the Privy Council at seventy millions of pounds, by the following mode of computation:

450,000 negroes, at 50l. per head, - -	L. 22500000	0	0
Lands, buildings, utensils, and crop on the ground, -	45000000	0	0
Value of houses in towns, trading vessels, and crews,	25000000	0	0
Total,	L. 70000000	0	0

We cannot conclude upon this subject, without stating, briefly, the shipping and seamen to which the sugar colonies directly give employment.

In 1787, it appears that there cleared, from Great Britain and Ireland, to the West Indies, 689 * ves-

* Including 14 from Honduras.

ſels, containing in all 148,176 tons, and navigated by 13,000 ſeamen; which, as before mentioned, is equal to the whole commercial tonnage of England a century ago. The value of theſe ſeamen is certainly ſuperior to that of the Newfoundland ſailors, of whom ſo many remain during the winter in the country, and cannot be added to the naval force upon a ſudden emergency.

CHAPTER III.

Trade between the Britiſh Weſt Indies and North America previous to the War—American Supplies—Ships and Seamen—Advantages of the Trade to Great Britain—Meaſures of Government at the Reſtoration of Peace—Deſtruction of Negroes in conſequence of Scarcity.

AFTER America had got her independence fairly ſanctioned by the peace of Verſailles, the new parliament, by a moſt unprecedented mode of conduct, gave up to his Majeſty the ſole deciſion of that very important queſtion which was at that time under conſideration; namely, Whether liberty ſhould be granted to the States of America to import lumber and proviſions into the Weſt Indies? A committee of council was therefore ſelected, who, though in all probability influenced by the beſt motives, ſuffered themſelves to be led aſide by the ſuggeſtions of ſelf-intereſted men, the determined enemies of the new republic.

Theſe adviſers, blind to the dictates of humanity, wiſhed for nothing ſo ardently as the ruin of America; and, though to forbid the intercourſe between the States and the Weſt Indies was evidently accompanied with moſt dreadful calamity to the latter, yet, in order that no ſcheme might be left untried to wound the riſing commonwealth, they ſtrongly adviſed the committee to debar an intercourſe ſo favourable to our recent enemies.

The Weſt Indians, ſcarce recovered from the ca-

lamities inflicted by the paſt war, and ſtill more diſtreſſed by the effects of thoſe tremendous hurricanes of 1780 and 1781, attempted to excite the attention of their fellow ſubjects, by repreſenting the hardſhips of their ſituation. They appealed to the knowledge of all men acquainted with America, if thoſe remaining States which were ſtill ſubject to Britain were in any way adequate to the taſk of ſupplying them with lumber and proviſions. They ſtated, that Nova Scotia had never been able to ſupply her own inhabitants with the neceſſary grain, and could not conſequently be expected to be a market for them, and that all the lumber it had ever exported did not amount to what deſerved the name of merchandiſe. The Iſland of St John (they repreſented) was ſtill more barren; and, although Canada might occaſionally afford ſupplies of wheat, yet it was proved, that in 1779, 1780, 1781, and 1782, the ſcarcity of wheat in Canada had been ſo great, that all exportation had been forbidden by law; and, even at that time, foreigners were ſupplying her market. The hardſhips attending this prohibition cannot be better underſtood, than by giving an extract from the repreſentation of the committee of the aſſembly of Jamaica, on the ſubject of thoſe loſſes of negroes which they felt in a principal degree from this cauſe.

"We ſhall now (ſay the committee) point out the principal cauſes to which this mortality of our ſlaves is juſtly chargeable. It is but too well known to the houſe, that in the ſeveral years 1780, 1781,

1784, 1785, and 1786, it pleaſed Divine Providence to viſit this iſland with repeated hurricanes, which ſpread deſolation throughout moſt parts of the iſland; but the pariſhes which ſuffered more remarkably than the reſt, were thoſe of Weſtmoreland, Hanover, St. James, Trelawny, Portland, and St. Thomas in the Eaſt. By theſe deſtructive viſitations, the plantain walks which furniſh the chief article of ſupport to the negroes, were generally rooted up, and the intenſe droughts which followed, deſtroyed thoſe different ſpecies of ground proviſions which the hurricanes had not reached. The ſtorms of 1780 and 1781 happening during the time of war, no foreign ſupplies, except a trifling aſſiſtance from prize-veſſels, could be obtained on any terms, and a famine enſued in the leeward parts of the iſland, which deſtroyed many thouſand negroes. After the ſtorm of the 30th of July 1784, the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his council, publiſhed a proclamation, dated the 7th of Auguſt, permitting the free importation of proviſions and lumber in foreign bottoms, for four months from that period. As this was much too ſhort a time to give ſufficient notice, and obtain all the ſupplies that were neceſſary, the ſmall quantities of flour, rice, and other proviſions, which were imported in conſequence of the proclamation, ſoon roſe to ſo exorbitant a price as to induce the aſſembly, on the 9th of November following, to preſent an addreſs to the lieutenant-governor, requeſting him to prolong the term until the latter end of March 1785; obſerving, that it was

impoſſible for the natural productions of the country to come to ſuch maturity as to be wholeſome food, before that time. The term of four months not being expired when this addreſs was preſented, the lieutenant-governor declined to comply therewith; but on the 1ſt of December following, the houſe repreſented, that a prolongation of the term was then abſolutely neceſſary: They obſerve that, perſuaded of the reluctance with which his Honour would be brought to deviate from regulations which he felt himſelf bound to obſerve, it would give them much concern to addreſs him on the ſame occaſion a ſecond time, were they not convinced that it was in a caſe of ſuch extreme neceſſity as to juſtify ſuch a deviation. Accordingly, the lieutenant-governor, by the advice of his Majeſty's council, directed, that the time formerly limited ſhould be extended to the 31ſt of January then next enſuing (1785): but, at the ſame time, he informed the houſe, that he was not at liberty to deviate any longer from the regulations which had been eſtabliſhed in Great Britain.

"From the 31ſt of January 1785, therefore, the ports continued ſhut, and the ſufferings of the poor negroes, in conſequence thereof, for ſome months afterwards, were extreme: Providentially the ſeaſons became more favourable about May, and conſiderable quantities of corn and ground proviſions were gathered in the month of Auguſt, when the fourth ſtorm happened, and the lieutenant-governor immediately ſhut the ports againſt the exportation of any of our proviſions to the French and Spaniſh iſlands.

which were ſuppoſed to have ſuffered more than ourſelves; but not thinking himſelf at liberty to permit the importation of proviſions in American veſſels, the productions of the country were ſoon exhauſted, and the uſual attendants of ſcanty and unwholeſome diet, dropſies and epidemic dyſenteries, were again dreadfully prevalent in the ſpring and ſummer of 1786, and proved fatal to great numbers of the negroes in all parts of the country,

"On the 20th of October in that year, happened the fifth dreadful hurricane, which again laid waſte the leeward pariſhes, and completed the tragedy. We decline to enlarge on the conſequences which followed, leſt we may appear to exaggerate; but having endeavoured to compute, with as much accuracy as the ſubject will admit, the number of our ſlaves, whoſe deſtruction may be fairly attributed to theſe repeated calamities, and the unfortunate meaſure of interdicting foreign ſupplies, and for this purpoſe compared the imports and returns of negroes for the laſt ſeven years with thoſe of ſeven years preceding, we heſitate not, after every allowance for adventitious cauſes, to fix the whole loſs at fifteen thouſand: This number we firmly believe to have periſhed of famine, or of diſeaſes contracted by ſcanty and unwholeſome diet, between the latter end of 1780, and the beginning of 1787."

But it was found, upon a fair trial, that the idea of the Britiſh provinces ſupplying America with ſtores was abſurd and chimerical. The Gulph of St. Lawrence continued, as uſual, blocked up for ſeven months in the year by the ice, and Nova Scotia was

ſtill far from being fertile. It was therefore found abſolutely neceſſary to permit the importation of lumber and proviſions into the latter place from the United States. The conſequences of this permiſſion were ſpeedily felt; for, in the year 1790, there were actually ſhipped to Nova Scotia from the United States, no leſs than 540,000 ſtaves and heading, 924,980 feet of boards, 285,000 ſhingles, and 16,000 hoops, 40,000 barrels of bread and meal, and 80,000 buſhels of grain; an irrefragable proof that Canada had no ſurplus of either lumber or grain beyond her own conſumption. What were the exports from Canada and Nova Scotia, ſince the war, I regret being unable to aſcertain, as the committee of council for the ſlave trade are totally ſilent on that head. The exports for the year 1787, from the Britiſh ſugar iſlands to all our remaining American poſſeſſions, including Newfoundland, conſiſted of 9891 cwt. of ſugar, 874,580 gallons of rum, 81 cwt. of cacao, 4 cwt. of ginger, 26,380 gallons of melaſſes, 200lb. of pimento, 573 cwt. of coffee, 1750 lbs of cotton-wool, and ſome ſmall articles, ſuch as fruit, &c. of little account. The value of the whole, according to the current prices in London, was 100,506l. 17s. 10d. Sterling. The ſhipping, to which it gave employment, was navigated by 1397 ſeamen. To the United States were exported, the ſame year, 19,921 cwt. of ſugar, 1,620,205 gallons of rum, 124 1-half cwt. of cacao, 339 cwt. of ginger, 4200 gallons of melaſſes, 6450 lb. pimento, 3246 lb. of coffee, 3000 lb. of cotton-wool, 291 hides, and 737 barrels of fruit;

the value of which, in Sterling money, according to the current prices of London, is 196,460l. 8s.

That this abatement of the unjuſt reſtrictions laid upon the commerce between them, has been of ſervice in relieving for a while thoſe calamities with which the iſlands have been ſometimes viſited, is true, but the cure is not fully performed by ſuch partial attenuation of the evil. While the intercourſe with America is thus limited, and while every one of the iſlands continues occaſionally ſubject to hurricanes, and many of them to ſucceſſive droughts, which deſtroy the fruits of the earth, and leave the wretched labourer to depend ſolely upon the proviſions which may be imported, the moſt deplorable miſeries may at ſome future period be yet expected. Should the ſame viſitations happen again, as the planters have no veſſels of their own to employ, and thoſe of America are denied admittance to their ports, how are even the moſt opulent among them able to avert from their labourers the repetition of this memorable famine, which ſwept off ſuch numbers in Jamaica?

From theſe conſiderations, it ſhould certainly occur to the minds of all ſuch as are diſpoſed to condemn the planter for acts of inhumanity to his ſlaves, that, to contemplate, with indifference, this unjuſt and cruel ſyſtem of policy, is to ſanction the more dreadful calamities than the moſt ſevere maſter will ever ſuffer to be impoſed upon his ſlave. To this iniquitous ſyſtem many thouſands of the unhappy Africans have already been ſacrificed; and, in all probability, many thouſands more will yet periſh.

CHAPTER IV.

Objections againſt the Advantages ariſing to Britain from her Weſt Indian Colonies conſidere —Whether the Duties on Weſt Indian Commodities imported fall on the Conſumer, and in what Caſes—Drawbacks and Bounties, explanation of the Terms, and their Origin and Property traced and demonſtrated—Of the Monopoly Compact, its Nature and Origin—Reſtrictions on the Coloniſts, and Benefits thence reſulting to Brit[illegible]—Advantages which would accrue to the Planter, the Revenue, and the Public, from permitting the Inhabitants of the Weſt Indies to refine their raw Sugar for Britiſh Conſumption—Project of eſtabliſhing Sugar Plantations in the Weſt Indies under the Protection of Government conſidered—Remonſtrances which might be offered againſt this and other Meaſures—Concluſion.

In order to reconcile the nation to theſe imprudent meaſures by which America was ſeparated from the Britiſh, it was for a long time conſidered as an excellent object of diſcuſſion to leſſen the value of the colonies in the public eſtimation. It was in particular held out as a political maxim, too evident to ſuffer contradiction, that Britain, by adhering to the ſyſtem of ſupporting her Weſt India poſſeſſions, incurred a number of certain and inevitable diſadvantages, in return for which ſhe reaped no ſolid recompenſe. To the utility of the Weſt Indies, the following are the three objections which are held out to the public view. By theſe objectors it is ſtated, in the *firſt* place, That the duties which are levied on the products of the Britiſh Weſt Indies imported into Great Britain, though paid in the firſt inſtance by the proprietor

or importer, ultimately fall on the conſumer, and on him alone. It is aſſerted, in the *ſecond* place, That the practice of allowing drawbacks on their re-exports, is dangerous and deſtructive to the true intereſts of commerce. *Thirdly*, That the monopoly of ſupply veſted in the planters, is partial, unjuſt and oppreſſive.

I ſhall conſider theſe ſeveral poſitions in the order in which I have placed them. The inveſtigation of them is neceſſary to the completion of the work, and with a few general obſervations, we ſhall conclude.

The planters have affirmed, and they repeat, that there is not an axiom in mathematics more indiſputably eſtabliſhed, than that the value of all commodities at market depends entirely on their plenty or ſcarcity, in proportion to their demand or conſumption. If the quantity at market be not equal to the demand, the ſeller undoubtedly can, and always does, fix his own price on his goods; but if, on the contrary, the quantity expoſed for ſale is ſuperabundant beyond what there are purchaſers to take up, the value of the commodity will fall in ſpite of all that the vender can do to ſupport it. If the demand, therefore, be great, and the quantity ſmall, the ſeller will not only reimburſe himſelf for his original charges and duties, but will alſo be enabled to reap a conſiderable return of profit. Reverſe the caſe, and he is as conſiderably a loſer. He depends upon his ability to feed the market, or to make the ſupply no more than adequate to the demand. Thus, in

the common articles of uſe, ſuch as leather, ſoap, candles, malt, beer, and ſpirits, the price may be ſaid to fall on conſumers when a tax is impoſed, the market being always fed in the above mentioned proportion; becauſe, if the vender of theſe articles ſhould find the market overſtocked, he will betake himſelf to another method of living. The ſame remark, as to the effect of the impoſition of taxes, applies to the growth and manufacture of thoſe nations over whoſe commerce we have no controul. The merchant regulates his imports by the quantity which he is likely to vend, and ceaſes to import where he miſſes his profit. But it muſt be taken into conſideration, that the ſituation of the Britiſh Weſt India merchant is preciſely oppoſite to this; for (with a few exceptions) he can reſort to no market except to the mother country. The price is therefore ſolely regulated by the quantity which is brought to ſale, and the conſumer is not at all concerned what duties have been impoſed on the commodity, or what expences it has coſt the vender; the proportion of the quantity to be ſold to the conſumer is all the ſource of dearth or cheapneſs. By what means, then, can the merchant make the conſumer pay for the difference of duties, ſince he can inſtitute no difference of price but what ariſes from the ſcarcity or plenty of the article he ſells? The prices may indeed be altered by the practices of ſpeculation; but neither the planter abroad, nor the factor at home, is culpable for what they are not concerned with.

But even admitting that the conſumer were to pay the duty, or that the vender had it on more occaſions in his power to raiſe the price as he deſired; yet it muſt be remembered, that as the products of the Weſt Indies are rather articles of luxury than of neceſſity, numbers of people will abandon their conſumption, when frugality requires it. When the Muſcavedo ſugar, in conſequence of many captures in the laſt war, roſe to an enormous price, the diminution of its conſumption, in many parts of the kingdom, was in a much greater proportion.

The inſtance of indigo has already been given to evince the effect of duties in diminiſhing, I ſhould rather ſay aboliſhing, its cultivation in the Britiſh colonies. The growth of cacao, which was at one period the pride of Jamaica, and her greateſt export, has been now checked beyond the power of recovery; and though the inſtance of coffee plainly diſcovers what has been gained by the prudent reduction of exiſting duties, yet in calculating the effects of duties, it ſhould be remembered that ginger, which ſucceeded cacao in being the ſtaple commodity of Jamaica, met with the ſame fate as its predeceſſor, and its cultivation is now gone almoſt entirely into diſuſe. From what has been ſaid, it follows, that in nine caſes out of ten the duty falls upon the planter, not the conſumer; and that in that tenth caſe, where the conſumer is brought in for his ſhare, the tax is juſt; for every

one ſhould ſupport taxation in direct proportion of his ability to pay.

We come, in the *ſecond* place, to the conſideration of drawbacks and bounties.

The term *drawback*, in the language of the cuſtomhouſe, is applied to the tax repaid upon the exportation of raw ſugar; and the word *bounty*, to the exportation of what is refined and exported in loaf unbroken. The word drawback ſufficiently expreſſes its meaning; for the original duty paid at importation is refunded at exportation, without diminution or addition. This is at preſent 15 ſhillings the hundred weight. As to the bounty, the caſe was once different. To encourage the refining trade in Great Britain, government gave an actual premium on the export of refined ſugar in loaves in addition to the drawback, and the collective ſums ſo refunded and paid, amounting together to 20 ſhillings the hundred weight, obtained the name of bounty. This repayment of duties has been unjuſtly conſidered as a matter of favour to the coloniſt or importer; but a few arguments will be ſufficient to ſhow that it is founded upon a conſcientious right, of which he cannot be deprived as long as equal juſtice is made the baſis of a free government.

An importer of merchandiſe either comes voluntarily into our ports to ſeek the beſt market for his goods, or elſe he is compelled to do ſo, that the nation may be benefited by having the firſt offer

of the purchaſes to be made. In the former caſe, he has no right to complain of diſappointment, much leſs can he reaſonably expect a drawback of duties ſhould he withdraw his goods from the market in queſtion. But where compulſion is employed, the caſe is totally changed: The ſugar planter muſt not only bring his ſugar to a Britiſh market, but he muſt tranſport it in a Britiſh bottom, and is beſides forced to pay certain duties before he is permitted to ſell. It is not until the home conſumption is ſupplied that the ſugar can be ſent to a foreign market; and if the cargo ſhould periſh by any accident, the owner loſes both capital and duty. How then can it be a hardſhip for the mother country to reſtore the duty paid upon a freight, of which ſhe enjoyed the firſt offer, and of which ſhe conſequently received the greateſt chance of advantage? The foreign market, indeed, will not bear this additional duty; and if it be required, it is an extortion which has not neceſſity for its plea, as ſugar is not a neceſſary but a luxury of life. Hitherto we have only ſpoken of raw ſugar, but theſe obſervations apply equally to refined ſugar; for what is called bounty, is little more than a modification of the drawback, the money allowed beyond the original duty being no more than adequate to the loſs of weight in the raw commodity.

By the neareſt calculation *, the apparent loſs to

* For this the reader is referred to the original work

to the revenue is but one ſhilling the hundred weight, and no more; but as every hogſhead of ſugar loſes conſiderably in weight after the duty is paid, and before it is worked, and as, by the preſent regulations reſpecting it, there is duty paid for more ſugar than the caſk contains, it is a moderate calculation upon all ſugars to ſay, that every hogſhead loſes 76lb. which, at 15s. per cwt. the import duty, is a loſs of 7s. 6d. to the planter, and the like clear gain to the exchequer. The average annual import of raw ſugar is about 160,000 hogſheads of 12 cwt. nett. Now, ſuppoſing every ounce of this to be exported, and receive 15s. per cwt. of drawback; yet, from the difference of weight occaſioned by unavoidable waſte, government would have received in duties between 50,000l. and 60,000l. per annum more than it refunds in drawbacks and bounties on the ſame commodity.

We come, in the *next* place, to anſwer the third objection, viz. commercial monopoly.

As a compenſation for the reſtrictions to which the coloniſts muſt ſubmit, they have been entitled to this excluſive privilege of acceſs to the Britiſh market for the ſale of their produce. This arrangement has been called the Double Monopoly. The price at which the coloniſts purchaſe their ſhare of the advantage is the following: They are prohibited from purchaſing from foreigners many articles which Britain does not ſupply of herſelf, and which foreigners could ſell at a cheaper rate; ſo that Britain is benefited by a double freightage.

The articles which foreigners could afford at a more reaſonable rate, are very numerous; yet ſo ſtrictly have the navigation laws been adhered to, that on one ever memorable and dreadful occaſion, the lives of 15,000 miſerable negroes were ſacrificed to the ſyſtem, as has been before related. On the ſame principle, Great Britain does not permit the Weſt Indian to avail himſelf of the cheapneſs and ſecurity of neutral bottoms in the time of war, that her naval power and ſhipping may continue the more formidable. Great as this hardſhip is, it is inferior in preſſure to that reſtriction which interdicts the coloniſt from refining, beyond the firſt ſtate of manufacture, the ſtaple produce of his iſlands, and binds him to bring home every commodity in its raw ſtate. This is effected by means of enormous duties. To prohibit a great body, ſays the author of the Wealth of Nations, from making all they can of every part of their own produce, or from employing their ſtock and their induſtry in the way that they judge moſt advantageous to themſelves, is a manifeſt violation of the moſt ſacred rights of mankind. But to this violation the Weſt Indian muſt ſubmit, as the price for what advantages he may reap from the double monopoly, and the benefit of being conſidered as a Britiſh ſubject. From this interdiction impoſed upon the manufacturing of articles of Weſt Indian growth in their own ſoil, no advantage ariſes in the main; on the contrary, Great Britain would be a conſiderable gainer if full liberty was permitted to the planter to refine the ſugar which he raiſes. To illuſtrate

this in as brief a manner as poſſible, it need only be mentioned, that the drainage of raw ſugar, occaſioned by its paſſage homeward, has been valued, at an average of four years, at 560,000l. and the loſs thus ſuſtained by the revenue may be eaſily calculated. In the next place, there is a poſitive loſs, at the beſt calculation, of 1l. 5s. 4d. value of melaſſes on every hogſhead of Muſcavedo ſugar ſhipped to Great Britain, excluſive of the loſs in the raw material before ſtated. Laying aſide the conſideration of freight, it muſt occur to every one, that great and deciſive advantage would accrue to the planter from the refining of his own ſugar, from the circumſtance that his capital and his ſtock are already provided to his hands. He not only poſſeſſes the raw material, but alſo the buildings and apparatus of all kinds, requiring but ſmall additional expence to complete the manufacture.

There is no doubt but that the loſs ſuſtained by the government, from the leſſer exportation of Muſcavedo ſugar, would be made up by additional levies upon the article in a ſtate of refinement: but in this caſe, the revenue would not be diminiſhed; the profits of the planter would be perfectly ſufficient, and Britain would purchaſe her ſugar cheaper than ſhe can obtain it at preſent.

But it is ſingular, that in ſpite of all that the public has ſeen and acknowledged upon the reciprocality of benefits that takes place between the colonies and Britain; though it has been proved on ſeveral occaſions, and by a thouſand unanſwerable

arguments, that the Weſt Indies, in return for the monopoly which binds the mother country to encourage and protect her commerce, yields a compenſation of benefits not inferior to what ſhe receives; yet of late the public attention has been violently attracted to a project which, without conferring benefits upon the Britiſh themſelves, muſt cruelly and undeſervedly procure the ruin of theſe iſlands. This propoſal is to cultivate ſugar upon the diſtant plains of the Eaſt Indies, and to procure our ſugar from colonies who purchaſe no article worth conſideration from home; who have rather ſeemed diſpoſed to ruin than augment our manufactures; and laſtly, whoſe diſtance muſt make their commerce leſs profitable than that to the Weſt. Beſides, it is not propoſed to be a change from monopoly to free trade, but only a tranſference of monopoly from the Weſt to the Eaſt.

In fine, Were an uncourtly Weſt Indian permitted, freely and explicitly, to expoſtulate with miniſters upon the treatment of the colonies for theſe 20 years paſt, he might diſplay a ſtatement of facts, unpleaſant indeed to hear, but extremely difficult to controvert or elude. Such a perſon might, without any deviation from truth, preſent them with a detail not unlike the following.

"It is well known (he might ſay) that the ſufferings of thoſe colonies which fell under the dominion of France were very great; and that, at the concluſion of the war, ſuch of the planters as ſurvived the vexations of the enemy, and were not ac-

tually bankrupts in their fortunes, as a great many were, were reduced to embarraſſments nearly approaching to it. For the honour of the Britiſh name, it ought to be recorded, that no ſooner was an iſland taken from under the Britiſh protection, than the property of its inhabitants was treated, to all intents and purpoſes, as the property of natural-born enemies. Your veſſels of war cruiſed upon them, and made prize of our effects, wherever they were to be found. Even neutral flags afforded no protection againſt your depredations; until the higheſt authorities in the law had pronounced ſuch conduct to be illegal, and parliament interfered, to facilitate the paſſage of the products of Grenada, which, having ſurrendered at diſcretion, were ſtill expoſed to capture. Even the hurricane, that moſt awful viſitation of Providence, which uſually arreſts the vengeance of men, and by exciting ſofter affections, diſpoſes them to acts of fraternity, loſt its uſual effect of procuring a paſſage even for the neceſſaries of life; and thoſe whom the ſtorm had ſpared, your rapacity would have ſtarved.

"The war ceaſed, and with it the dominion of France over all the iſlands (Tobago excepted, which was ceded to her in perpetuity); but our miſeries ſtill ſurvived; for the treaty of 1782, which gave peace and independence to North America, only transferred hoſtilities to the ſugar colonies; as they have never ceaſed, from that time to the preſent, to be haraſſed with vexations of one kind or another. The firſt meaſure by which they were annoyed,

aroſe in the policy of the ſtate. It was thought neceſſary to diſſolve their connection with the continent. The conſequence of which was, that Jamaica, being deprived of its produce of negro proviſions, by a ſeries of tempeſts and unfavourable ſeaſons, loſt 15,000 of her ſlaves by famine. And yet you talk of humanity, as if it were a national virtue!

"What ſince has been the diſpoſition of Great Britain towards us, may be learnt from the popular converſation at this day; from the conduct of large bodies aſſociated for the abolition of the ſlave trade, and ultimately of ſlavery itſelf; from the eſtabliſhments projected, and in exeeution, on the coaſt of Africa, with views declaredly hoſtile to our intereſts; from the numbers of inflammatory paragraphs and calumnious pamphlets that daily iſſue from the preſs, to prejudice the Weſt Indian planters in the public opinion; from the indefatigable circulation of addreſſes, exhorting the people to the diſuſe of Weſt Indian ſugar; and laſtly, from various propoſals with reſpect to the reduction of the price of the commodity. In ſo many ſhapes does this ſpirit manifeſt itſelf, as to give juſt grounds to conclude, that ſomething like a decided purpoſe is entertained for the total ruin of the ſugar colonies, and that the vexations we have hitherto experienced, are only preliminaries to the ſyſtem which is to be conſummated by the grand meaſure of raiſing of rivals to our monopoly in your eſtabliſhments in the eaſt.

"It has been imputed, as a reproach to the ſu-

gar colonies, that they are expenſive, and that they engage you in war. Never were the Weſt Indian colonies the cauſe of war; but whenever the two nations of France and England are engaged in any quarrel, from whatever cauſe it may ariſe, thither they repair to decide their differences. They are made the theatre of war; they are the victims, but never the origin of the conteſt. The inhabitants of the French and Engliſh iſlands live in an habitual intercourſe of good offices, and would wiſh for eternal peace; and they have reaſon for it, for what are they to gain by war?

"When, therefore, we reflect upon the various means which have been employed to prejudice the Weſt Indian planters, we find ourſelves totally at a loſs to conjecture what it is that could excite ſo much acrimony againſt us; as there exiſts none of thoſe cauſes which uſually provoke the envy of men and exaſperate their malignity. The Weſt Indians are not remarkable (with very few exceptions) either for their gigantic opulence, or an oſtentatious diſplay of it. They do not emerge rapidly from poverty and inſignificance, into conſpicuous notice. Such of them as poſſeſs fortunes of diſtinguiſhed magnitude, as ſome gentlemen of Jamaica are happy enough to do, are not the creation of a day. Their names are to be found in the earlieſt records of the iſland, and their adventures were coeval with the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, and of courſe their properties, ſuch as we now find them, are the fruits of the toil of ſucceſſive generations. Many there

are, indeed, who have competencies that enable them to live, with economy, in this country: but the great maſs are men of oppreſſed fortunes, conſigned by debt to unremitting drudgery in the colonies, with a hope, which eternally mocks their graſp, of happier days, and a releaſe from their embarraſsments. Such are the times which we have lately ſeen, that, if ſuffered to continue, might poſſibly have given effect to their exertions, and have lifted them out of their diſtreſſes. But it ſeems that poverty is conſidered as the legitimate heritage of every Weſt Indian planter. They may encounter loſs, and ſtruggle with adverſity; but never are they to profit of contingencies that may enable them to repair the diſaſters of adverſe fortune, to which they are peculiarly ſubjected by their poſition.

"If the miniſter means the ruin of the Weſt Indian colonies, he may effect it by promoting the extenſive cultivation of the ſugar-cane in the Eaſt Indies, with a view to the ſupply of any part of the European market; and we have only equity to oppoſe to power, for we cannot repel injury. Murmurs would be unavailing, and our reſentments impotent; but it would be a baſe deſertion of intereſt, to ſuffer ourſelves to be intimidated into a voluntary ſurrender of right. We proteſt, therefore, againſt any innovation, and adhere to the ſyſtem of double monopoly: There we are at anchor; and if there is no ſecurity any where againſt the ſtorms and afflictions of Providence, ſo neither is there againſt the injuſtice of men; but we ſhall at leaſt have the

conſolation of not ſuffering the reproaches of our own boſoms, or of leaving accuſers in our poſterity!"

To a remonſtrance like the foregoing, it is difficult to conceive what anſwer could be given. If, however, it is not the wiſh or intention of government to violate the national faith with the colonies, their apprehenſion on that head may be eaſily removed. In this important buſineſs, ſatisfaction being given to the reſt, if candour were to dictate an anſwer, although much muſt be admitted, much too might be ſaid. It might be urged, That to the mother country the colonies are indebted for their birth, origin, and government. If, during the fatal conteſt which terminated in the diſmemberment of the empire, they ſuffered their ſhare of calamity, it muſt be remembered that all the iſlands, Tobago alone excepted, which ſuffered the horrors of capture, were, at the peace, reſtored to the bleſſings of Britiſh liberty and protection. They poſſeſs every characteriſtic of a free people; in their internal concerns, they are taxed by their own repreſentatives, and have not the image only, but the ſpirit and ſubſtance of an Engliſh conſtitution.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

FROM the following appendix, the reader may form a tolerable notion of the protection which the law maintains over ſlaves in the Weſt Indies. In the work from which this is abridged, the lateſt act of the aſſembly of Jamaica upon the ſubject, has been given in full; but in what follows there is merely a ſelection of all the material clauſes of the act.

JAMAICA, ſſ.

AN ACT to repeal an act, entitled "An act to repeal ſeveral acts and clauſes of acts reſpecting ſlaves, and for the better order and government of ſlaves, and for other purpoſes;" and alſo to repeal the ſeveral acts and clauſes of acts, which were repealed by the act entitled as aforeſaid; and for conſolidating, and bringing into one act, the ſeveral laws relating to ſlaves, and for giving them further protection and ſecurity; for altering the mode of trial of ſlaves charged with capital offences; and for other purpoſes.

WHEREAS it is for the public good, that all the laws reſpecting the order and government of ſlaves,

ſhould be conſolidated and brought into one law, in order to prevent confuſion, and that juſtice may more effectually be executed reſpecting ſlaves; and whereas it is found neceſſary, for the purpoſe of giving further ſecurity to ſlaves, that the mode of trial of ſlaves charged with capital offences ſhould be altered; and whereas, in order thereto, it is neceſſary that all the herein after mentioned laws, and clauſes of laws, ſhould be repealed; viz. &c. &c. &c. We, your Majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the aſſembly of this your Majeſty's iſland of Jamaica, do moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty that it may be enacted, Be it therefore enacted, by the Lieutenant-Governor, Council, and Aſſembly of the ſaid iſland, and it is hereby enacted and ordained by the authority of the ſame, That from and after the paſſing of this act all and every the ſaid herein before mentioned laws, and clauſes of laws, and every part thereof, be and ſtand annulled, repealed, and made void, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever; any thing in the ſaid laws, and clauſes of laws, or in any other law contained to the contrary, in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And whereas nothing can contribute more to the good order and government of ſlaves than the humanity of their owners, in providing for, and ſupplying them with good and wholeſome proviſions, and proper and ſufficient clothing, and all ſuch other things as may be proper and neceſſary for them, during their being in a ſtate of ſlavery: For which end and purpoſe, Be it further enacted

by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, every maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor, of any plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands whatſoever, ſhall allot and appoint a ſufficient quantity of land for every ſlave he ſhall have in poſſeſſion upon, or belonging to, ſuch plantation or plantations, pens, or other lands, as and for the proper ground of every ſuch ſlave, and allow ſuch ſlave ſufficient time to work the ſame, in order to provide him, her, or themſelves, with ſufficient proviſions for his, her, or their maintenance: and alſo, all ſuch maſters, owners, or poſſeſſors of plantations, pens, or other lands, ſhall plant upon ſuch plantations, pens, or other lands, in ground proviſions, at leaſt one acre of land for every *ten* negroes * that he ſhall be poſſeſſed of on ſuch plantation, pen, or other lands, over and above the negroe grounds aforeſaid; which lands ſhall be kept up in a planter-like condition, under the penalty of 50l.

And, for the better encouragement of ſlaves to do their duty to their maſters, owners or poſſeſſors, Be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every maſter, owner, or poſſeſſor of ſlaves, ſhall, once in every year, provide and give to each ſlave they ſhall be poſſeſſed of proper and ſufficient clothing, to be approved of by the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh where ſuch maſter, owner, or

* In the former act an acre of proviſions was allotted to every *four* negroes, excluſive as above, but it was found an exorbitant and unneceſſary allowance, and the alteration was made as it now ſtands expreſsly that the law might be enforced.

poſſeſſor of ſuch ſlave reſides, under the penalty of 50l.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every maſter, owner, proprietor, or poſſeſſor of ſlaves, his or her overſeer or chief manager, at their giving in an account of their ſlaves and ſtock to the juſtices and veſtry, on the 28th day of December in every year, ſhall, under the penalty of 50l. for every neglect, alſo give in, on oath, an account of the quantity of land in ground-proviſions, over and above the negro-grounds, upon ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, where there are lands proper for the cultivation of ſuch proviſions; and where there are not lands proper for ſuch purpoſes, then an account, on oath, of the proviſion made on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, or means adopted for the maintenance of the ſlaves thereon; and ſhall alſo, at the ſame time, and under the like penalty, give in an account, on oath, of the nature and quantity of the clothing actually ſerved to each ſlave on ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement, for the approbation of the juſtices and veſtry as aforeſaid; and ſhall, likewiſe, at the ſame time declare, on oath, that he hath inſpected the negro-grounds (where ſuch grounds are allotted) of ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, according to the directions of this act.

And, in order to prevent any perſon from mutilating or diſmembering any ſlave or ſlaves, Be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any maſter, miſtreſs, owner, poſſeſſor, or other per-

ſon whatſoever, ſhall, at his, her, or their own will and pleaſure, or by his, her, or their direction, or with his, her, or their knowledge, ſufferance, privity, or conſent, mutilate or diſmember any ſlave or ſlaves, he, ſhe, or they ſhall be liable to be indicted for each offence in the ſupreme court of judicature, or in any of the aſſize courts of this iſland; and, upon conviction, ſhall be puniſhed by fine, not exceeding 100l. and impriſonment not exceeding 12 months, for each and every ſlave ſo mutilated or diſmembered; and ſuch puniſhment is declared to be without prejudice to any action that could or might be brought at common law, for recovery of damages for or on account of the ſame: And, in very atrocious caſes, where the owner of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be convicted of ſuch offence, the court, before whom ſuch offender ſhall have been tried and convicted, are hereby empowered, in caſe they ſhall think it neceſſary, for the future protection of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, to declare him, her, or them free and diſcharged from all manner of ſervitude, to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever: And, in all ſuch caſes, the court are hereby empowered and authorized, if to them it ſhall appear neceſſary, to order and direct the ſaid fine of 100l. to be paid to the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh to which the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves belonged, to the uſe of the ſaid pariſh; the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, in conſideration thereof, paying to ſuch of the ſaid ſlave or ſlaves ſo made free the ſum of 10l. per annum for his, her, or their maintenance and ſupport during life; and in

caſe any ſlave or ſlaves ſhall ſuffer any before-deſcribed mutilations, ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, on his, her, or their application to any juſtice of the peace, the ſaid juſtice of the peace ſhall be, and is hereby directed, required, and empowered, on view, and certain conviction of the fact, to ſend ſuch ſlave or ſlaves to the neareſt workhouſe where ſuch offence ſhall be committed, and ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall be there ſafely kept, and carefully attended at the expence of ſuch pariſh, until ſuch time as there may be a legal meeting of the juſtices and veſtry of ſuch pariſh; which juſtices and veſtry ſo met, are hereby created and appointed a council of protection of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves: And the ſaid juſtices and veſtry, ſo met, are hereby directed and empowered to make further and full inquiry, upon view, into the commitment of the mutilation of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves; and, if to them it ſhall appear proper, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry are hereby empowered and required to proſecute to effect ſuch owner or owners; the expence of which proſecution ſhall be paid by the pariſh where ſuch offence ſhall be committed: And in caſe the owner or owners of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall appear capable of paying the coſts and charges of ſuch before-mentioned proſecution, the ſaid juſtices and veſtry are hereby empowered to commence ſuit or ſuits againſt ſuch owner or owners of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, and recover all coſts and charges out of purſe, by them laid out and expended in ſuch ſuit or ſuits: And the keeper or ſuperviſor of the workhouſe where ſuch mutilated ſlave

or ſlaves ſhall have been firſt committed, is hereby directed and required, upon due notice of the firſt meeting of the juſtices and veſtry of the pariſh where the offence was committed, to produce ſuch mutilated ſlave or ſlaves, for the inſpection and direction of ſuch juſtices and veſtry, under the penalty of 20l. for every neglect, in not producing before ſuch juſtices and veſtry ſuch ſlave or ſlaves.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That if any perſon hereafter ſhall wantonly, willingly, or bloody-mindedly kill, or cauſe to be killed, any negro or other ſlave, ſuch perſon ſo offending ſhall, on conviction, be adjudged guilty of felony, without benefit of clergy, and ſhall ſuffer death accordingly for the ſaid offence: Provided always, that ſuch conviction ſhall not extend to the corrupting the blood, or the forfeiture of lands or tenements, goods or chattels; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary thereof in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, any perſon or perſons that ſhall wantonly or cruelly whip, maltreat, beat bruiſe, wound, or ſhall impriſon or keep in confinement, without ſufficient ſupport, any ſlave or ſlaves, ſhall be ſubject to be indicted for the ſame in the ſupreme court of judicature, or in either of the courts of aſſize, or courts of quarter ſeſſions in this iſland; and, upon being thereof legally convicted, he, ſhe, or they, ſhall ſuffer ſuch puniſhment, by fine or impriſonment, or

both, as the judges or juſtices of ſuch courts ſhall think proper to inflict; any law, cuſtom, or uſage to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding: And ſuch puniſhment is hereby declared to be without prejudice to any action at common law that could or might be brought for the recovery of damages for and on account of the ſame, in caſe ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall not be the property of the offender.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That for the future, all ſlaves in this iſland ſhall be allowed the uſual number of holidays that were allowed at the uſual ſeaſons of Chriſtmas, Eaſter, and Whitſuntide: Provided, That at every ſuch reſpective ſeaſon, no two holidays ſhall be allowed to follow or ſucceed immediately one after the other, except at Chriſtmas, when they ſhall be allowed Chriſtmas-day, and alſo the day immediately ſucceeding; any law, cuſtom, or uſage, to the contrary notwithſtanding: And if any maſter, owner, guardian, or attorney, of any plantation or ſettlement, or the overſeer of ſuch plantation or ſettlement, ſhall preſume, at the ſeaſons aforeſaid, to allow any holidays to any ſlave belonging to any ſuch plantation or ſettlement, other than as directed by this act to be given, every perſon ſo offending ſhall forfeit the ſum of 5l.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That every field-ſlave on ſuch plantation or ſettlement ſhall, on work days, be allowed, according to cuſtom, half an hour for breakfaſt, and two hours for dinner; and that no ſlaves ſhall be com-

pelled to any manner of field-work upon the plantation before the hour of five in the morning, or after the hour of ſeven at night, except during the time of crop, under the penalty of 50l. to be recovered againſt the overſeer, or other perſon having the care of ſuch ſlaves.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That on the 28th day of December in every year (the time of giving in as aforeſaid), or within 30 days after, the owner, overſeer, or manager of every plantation, pen, or ſettlement, ſhall give in, on oath, an account of all the births and deaths of the ſlaves of ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, for the preceding year, under the penalty of 50l. to be recovered from the owner of ſuch plantation, pen, or other ſettlement.

And whereas the permitting and ſuffering negro and other ſlaves to keep horſes, mares, mules, or geldings, is attended with many and great miſchiefs to the iſland in general; In order, therefore, to remedy the ſame, Be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, the maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, in poſſeſſion of every plantation or pen in this iſland, having on any ſuch plantation or pen any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding, the reputed property of any ſlave or ſlaves, knowing the ſame to be ſuch, ſhall cauſe them to be taken up, and ſhall produce them at the moſt public place in the pariſh where taken up, at ſuch time as the juſtices and veſtry

ſhall, by advertiſement in the public newſpapers, appoint for that purpoſe, and that ſuch horſes, mares, mules, and geldings, be then and there ſold and diſpoſed of at public outcry; and if any maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon as aforeſaid, ſhall neglect or refuſe ſo doing, each and every of them ſhall, for every neglect or refuſal, reſpectively forfeit the ſum of 30l. to be recovered in a ſummary manner before any two juſtices of the peace for the pariſh or precinct where ſuch neglect or refuſal ſhall happen, by the oath of one or more credible witneſs or witneſſes; which penalty ſhall be to the uſe of the perſon informing.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That from and after the paſſing of this act, no maſter, owner, proprietor, attorney, guardian, executor, adminiſtrator, or other perſon, in poſſeſſion of any plantation, pen, or ſettlement, ſhall knowingly permit or ſuffer any ſlave or ſlaves to keep on ſuch plantation, pen, or ſettlement, any horſe, mare, mule, or gelding; and, in caſe of ſo doing, ſhall, for every offence, forfeit the ſum of 30l. to be recovered in manner aforeſaid.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That in all caſes where the puniſhment of death is inflicted, the execution ſhall be performed in a public part of the pariſh and with due ſolemnity; and care ſhall be taken by the gaoler or deputy-marſhal, that the criminal is free from intoxication at the time of his trial, and from thence to

and at the time of his execution, under the penalty of 5l. and the mode of ſuch execution ſhall be hanging by the neck, and no other; and the body ſhall be afterwards diſpoſed of in ſuch manner as the court ſhall direct: And provided alſo, that where ſeveral ſlaves ſhall be capitally convicted for the ſame offence, one only ſhall ſuffer death, except in caſes of murder or rebellion.

And whereas there are many inferior crimes and miſdemeanours committed by ſlaves, which ought to be puniſhed in a ſummary manner, by order of the magiſtrates; Be it therefore enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That, from and after the paſſing of this act, it ſhall and may be lawful for any two juſtices of the peace to hear and determine, in a ſummary manner, all ſuch crimes and miſdemeanours, giving ſufficient notice to the owner or proprietor of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, or his or her attorney or attorneys, or the perſon having the care of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves, of the time and place of trial, and to order and direct ſuch puniſhment to be inflicted on them as ſuch juſtices, in their judgment, ſhall think fit, not exceeding 50 laſhes or ſix months confinement to hard labour; the expences of which trial ſhall not exceed 10s. to the conſtable, and ſhall be paid by the maſter, owner, or employer of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves; and in caſe ſuch maſter, owner, or employer of ſuch ſlave or ſlaves ſhall refuſe or neglect to pay ſuch expences, it ſhall and may be lawful for the ſaid juſtices, or either of them, to iſſue his or their warrant, under his or their hand

and ſeal, directed to any conſtable, for levying the ſame on the goods and chattels of ſuch maſter, owner, or employer, and to ſell the ſame at public outcry, for the purpoſe of paying ſuch expences, together with the charges attending the granting and executing ſuch warrant and ſale of goods and chattels, returning the overplus, if any, to the owner.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall not be lawful for any juſtice of the peace, ſitting on the trial of any ſlave or ſlaves, or otherwiſe, to ſentence or order any ſlave to be mutilated or maimed for any offence whatſoever.

A

SHORT HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH COLONY IN ST. DOMINGO.

CHAPTER I.

Political State of St. Domingo previous to the Year 1789.

THIS colony, like all other Weſt India ſettlements, was inhabited by three different orders of people. The pure whites conſtitute the firſt diſtinction, the free blacks and the people of colour formed the ſecond, and loweſt in the ſcale ſtood the unemancipated negroes. The people of colour, known by the name of *Sang Melée*, or *Gens de Couleur*, were illegitimate deſcendants of black and white parents. According as they approached to the complexion of negroes or whites, their caſts and appearance were various; but they were all known in common language by the name of Mulatto. From the unfrequency of marriage in St. Domingo, their numbers became almoſt equal to thoſe of the whites; the latter being eſtimated at 30,000, the former at 24,000.

Previous to the year 1789 the government of St. Domingo was adminiſtered by an officer called the Intendant, and a Governor General, both nominated

by the Crown, and inveſted with authority for three years. Their powers were in ſome caſes diſtinct, in others united. In the latter inſtances their joint adminiſtration was arbitrary, unlimited, and minute, extending to every poſſible queſtion in finance and police. The laws were enacted at their command, vacancies in councils and courts of juſtice were filled up by their choice, and the crown lands were diſtributed by their bounty. The ſole ſecurity of the people lay in the contention that happily aroſe between the ſharers of this exorbitant power; but even in theſe diſputes the governor's authority preponderated. His ſupreme command over the naval and military force; his power of impriſoning without a cauſe, and of allowing no arreſt but with his own approbation; made the adminiſtrators of juſtice his ſlaves, and his will ſuperior to the law. The office of the intendant, though leſs abſolute, was ſtill more dangerous to the virtue of its poſſeſſor. The man who had the controul and inſpection of all duties and taxes, and who was permitted to apply theſe treaſures as his choice directed, muſt have been bleſſed with uncommon integrity to avoid corruption. The taxes and duties, of which we ſpeak, were impoſed by a ſelf-elected aſſembly, compoſed of the two ſupreme officers juſt now mentioned, ſome commandants of militia, and preſidents of provincial councils, and, in mockery of the people, was called the Colonial Aſſembly.

The colony was divided into three provinces, the Northern, Weſtern, and Southern. There lay an

appeal from the ſentences of the inferior courts diſtributed through theſe diviſions at the ſuperior courts of Cape François and Port au Prince. Theſe were compoſed of the governor and his deputies, the intendant, King's lieutenants, twelve counſellors, and four *aſſeſſeurs*. The lieutenants were military officers, unconnected with the civil power, and wholly under the authority of the governor. The counſellors were little more independent. The Prince de Rohan, when acting as governor in this colony, ſeized them on their ſeats of juſtice, and put them on board a ſhip in irons: They were conveyed to Paris, and for a long time immured in the Baſtile, without the benefit of a trial.

The conſequence of ſuch undue influence over the miniſters of juſtice may be well conceived. Corruption and iniquity were notorious in their deciſions. An appeal lay, however, to the king, and the deciſion was generally more fair.

The colony was divided into fifty-two pariſhes, each of which furniſhed one or more companies of whites, blacks, and people of colour, to ſerve in the militia. The eſtabliſhment of the King's troops was from 2000 to 3000 men.

A colony thus governed muſt have depended for its happineſs principally upon the diſpoſition of the governor who was impoſed. Happily the progreſs of improvement had ſo far emancipated them from their ancient prejudices, that all reſpectability and happineſs were not allowed to centre in high birth and connections. The fruits of commerce and in-

duſtry had ſo far bleſſed the plebeian part of the community, that they enjoyed their wealth without being deſpiſed for the want of titles. But the triumph of juſtice over prejudice extended only thus far: Whatever apology may be offered for the prevalent cuſtom of undervaluing individuals from the ſole circumſtances of their colour, the fact cannot be denied, that the people of colour in this colony were ſubjected to the moſt flagrant injuſtice and contempt *. The negro that was enſlaved had a maſter, whoſe intereſt was pledged to defend him from injury; but the mulattoes, conſidered as ſlaves of the public, were injured and inſulted, without hope of redreſs. When they had completed the age of manhood, they were compelled to ſerve three years in the army; and when their military ſervice expired, they had to work the greater part of the year in a dreadful ſtate of ſlavery upon the highways. That every ſpark of generous ambition might be quenched in their minds, and every poſſibility of emerging from their debaſement excluded from their ſituation, they were not permitted to hold any office of public capacity, and were beſides debarred from following any profeſſion in private life that conferred reſpectability, or required a liberal education. The mulatto was prohibited by law

* Mr. Edwards, in this place, endeavours philoſophically to *account for*, in other words, to palliate, this prevalent propenſity of mankind to deſpiſe the colour of the individual, without regard to his merits.

from becoming a prieſt, a lawyer, a phyſician, a ſurgeon, an apothecary, or ſchoolmaſter. The ſmalleſt affinity to African blood tainted the whole character of the individual with contempt; and of conſequence no white man of character would deign to connect himſelf in marriage with a woman of colour, or a negreſs. The practice of the law impiouſly gave ſanction to popular prejudice. The mulatto who only ſtruck a white was condemned to have his right hand cut off; whilſt the white man, for a ſimilar offence, was puniſhed with an inſignificant fine. It is true this ſeverity of the law was in ſome meaſure modified by the manners of the people, who would have been unwilling to adhere rigorouſly to ſuch unmerciful edicts. Another circumſtance in favour of the mulattoes was their ability to hold property to any amount, by which means the more opulent had the power of bribing the venal adminiſtrators of juſtice, though at the ſame time this ſuperiority of wealth did not abate that inſolence which the meaner whites were at all times diſpoſed to ſhow them.

The enſlaved negroes, who conſtituted the third claſs of inhabitants, amounted in the year 1789 to 480,000. As early as the reign of Lewis XIV. a code of legiſlature had been paſſed in their favour, humanely intended, and honourable to its author. But where fear is the foundation of a government, as in all countries where ſlavery exiſts it muſt neceſſarily be, the doctrine of coercion, and not of right, is to be enforced, or authority cannot long be main-

tained. The uſage of the negroes in the colonies of Britain has been already deſcribed; and in this colony their uſage was almoſt exactly ſimilar. If any difference is to be obſerved between the uſage of French and Engliſh ſlaves, it is, that in the latter, they receive more animal food; in the former, they are more comfortably clothed. Upon the whole, the ſituation of all ranks of people in St. Domingo was leſs miſerable than might have been expected to reſult from a government ſo depraved as we have ſeen it. In ſpite of political evils, ſigns of proſperity were viſible; their towns were opulent; their markets plentiful; their commerce extenſive, and their cultivation on the increaſe. Such was the ſtate of the French colony in St. Domingo in 1788. In this eventful year the principles of liberty, which had been brought from America to France, began to pervade alſo her colonies. The neceſſity of new arrangements, and a ſevere amendment of inveterate and multiplied abuſes, became apparent. From the effects of this vigorous effort, the reformation of evils, many important leſſons are to be learned: We ſhall therefore make them the ſubject of the following pages.

CHAPTER II.

From the Revolution of 1789, to the Meeting of the Firſt General Colonial Aſſembly.

At the ever memorable period (December 1788), when the States General of France were convened, the governor of the French part of St. Domingo was M. Duchilleau, a man who was ſuppoſed ſecretly to favour the popular pretenſions. But the influence which he had been permitted to retain from this ſuppoſition, gradually vaniſhed from his hands as the ſpirit of innovation became bolder and more deciſive. It was therefore in vain that he attempted to ſuppreſs the meetings of the revolutioniſts, who, in ſpite of his proclamations, elected and ſent home to France eighteen repreſentatives (ſix for each province), as the new conſtituents of St. Domingo. By the time of their arrival, the States General had declared themſelves the National Aſſembly; but though friendly to the ſyſtem of repreſentation, that auguſt body ſtrenuouſly maintained that eighteen members was too great a number for St. Domingo to ſend, and ſix were only allowed to ſit.

Though admitted to a ſhare in the legiſlation, the Weſt India colonies were at this time far from being popular in France. The nation, enthuſiaſtic in their ſentiments reſpecting the rights of mankind, could not look with pleaſure upon a body of men who challenged freedom to themſelves, but refuſed it to

others. The popular indignation was made ſtronger every day by the ſpeeches of that powerful aſſociation of Amis des Noirs *; and the extravagancies of the French planters reſident in France ſerved alſo to augment the general deteſtation. The ſociety of the Amis des Noirs was an imitation of a London aſſociation, who had aſſumed the ſame name, but not for exactly the ſame purpoſes. The ſociety of Engliſhmen had endeavoured to mollify the treatment of ſlaves, by perſuading government to interdict the African trade. The ſociety we ſpeak of avowed their deteſtation of ſlavery itſelf, as well as the trade, and condemned thoſe abettors of liberty who dared to declare themſelves poſſeſſors of men. At the ſame time, the Amis des Noirs kept up an intimate connection with thoſe mulattoes from St. Domingo who were educating in France, endeavoured to convince them of their right to be emancipated from the miſeries under which they laboured, and warmly appealed to the generoſity of the nation in their behalf. The heart of every Frenchman was intereſted in their hardſhips, and the indignation againſt the white planters bore a ſerious aſpect.

This animoſity againſt the poſſeſſors of ſlaves had probably ſome ſhare in the minds of the aſſembly itſelf, when they paſſed their celebrated declaration, in which they maintained that all mankind are born and continue equal and free in their rights. Hi-

* The friends of the blacks.

therto the white inhabitants of St. Domingo had regarded the Amis de Noirs, and indeed the French nation at large, with no very favourable eye; for they felt that the ſentiments of unqualified freedom, which were avowed in the mother country, threatened deſtruction to their authority over their ſlaves. This declaration perfected their diſlike to the Amis de Noirs; for they regarded it as a dangerous and unpardonable blow, levelled at their power over the negroes and mulattoes. The French, before this period, had decreed the inſtitution of colonial aſſemblies; but the orders had been effected in a dilatory manner, and the coloniſts of St. Domingo did ot wait for their command. Large aſſemblies had been conſtituted in the provinces, and parochial meetings were held for the better communication of their ſentiments. The provincial aſſemblies, among other reſolutions, decreed their intention of being better repreſented, and declared their purpoſe of holding a legal and full aſſembly of colonial repreſentatives, as a meaſure of expediency, if orders to that purpoſe did not arrive within three months. In the mean time, the mulattoes in St. Domingo, inſtructed in their rights, and informed of the ſentiments of the French in their behalf, called aloud for emancipation, and became exceſſively turbulent. But they were ſoon overpowered, for they could not act in concert. The provincial aſſemblies, it is but juſtice to ſay, did not ſeem averſe to moderation, and were leſs ſevere in their treatment of priſoners than might have been expected. But the rage of the populace

was brutal and unreſtrained againſt the mulattoes themſelves, but more eſpecially thoſe whites who had the diſintereſted generoſity to avow themſelves their friends. A magiſtrate at Petit Goave (Monſ. Ferrand de Beaudierre) had reſolved upon connecting himſelf in marriage with a woman of colour; but, apprehenſive of being blamed for the meaſure, he attacked the eſtabliſhed prejudices of his countrymen againſt the people of colour, and drew up a memorial in their behalf, in which they were made to claim the full benefit of the national declaration of rights. He was arreſted for ſedition, and impriſoned by the parochial committee; but the mob took him by force from his confinement, and, in ſpite of the municipality, barbarouſly put him to death.

Early in the month of January 1790, the royal mandate for convoking an aſſembly was received. The time and place of its meeting, as well as ſome other circumſtances relative to its conſtitution, being thought inconſiſtent with the welfare of the colony, they were treated with contempt, and matters accommodated to the wiſhes of the inhabitants. Word was ſpeedily conveyed to the mother country of the diſpoſitions of St. Domingo; and the mercantile towns, alarmed by the danger that threatened their commerce, implored the government for conciliatory meaſures. The aſſembly took the matter into ſolemn conſideration, and, by a great majority, it was decreed that their intention never had been to intermeddle with the internal affairs of the

colony; that the management of their internal legiſlature was entirely their own; and that the aſſembly pledged themſelves to make no innovation, directly or indirectly, in the ſyſtem of commerce, in which the colonies were already concerned. However grateful this declaration might have been to the whites of St. Domingo, it occaſioned diſcontent and remonſtrances on the part of the philanthropic friends of the blacks. They regarded it as an unwarrantable ſanction of the African traffic, and a confeſſion that the planters of St. Domingo were not coloniſts, but an independent people. The intention of the aſſembly ſeems, however, to have been patriotic; and it is certainly moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe that this reſpectable body of legiſlators had the preſervation of the colony, and not the continuation of ſlavery, in view when they paſſed the above decree. With the example of America before their eyes, it was hardly to be conceived that the inhabitants of St. Domingo would have continued long the coloniſts of France, had the animoſity which once prevailed been kept alive by a decree of an oppoſite nature. How far the provincial repreſentatives were diſpoſed to be independent in their proceedings, will be ſeen from what paſſed in all their meetings till their final diſſolution. Of theſe we ſhall treat in the ſubſequent chapter.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings of the General Colonial Aſſembly, till its final Diſſolution, and the Embarkation of its Members for France.

On the 16th of April 1790, the General Aſſembly of St. Domingo met at the town of St. Marc, and conſiſted of 213 members. The provincial aſſemblies, however, ſtill continued to exerciſe their functions, or appointed committees during their intermiſſion. The amelioration of the ſlave-laws, and the relief of the people of colour from ſome of their ſevereſt hardſhips, were prudently made the firſt ſubjects of their deliberation. The rectification of groſs abuſes that prevailed in the courts of judicature, and could no longer be endured; in ſucceſſion to this buſineſs, the plan of a new colonial government kept them in employment till the 28th of May. At this period the governor-general was a Monſ. Peynier, a man of ſtrong ariſtocratical principles, and from whom the whole tribe of civil officers, whoſe views had been blaſted by the late revolution, derived ſecret encouragement and ſupport. Thoſe officers alſo who held military commiſſions, and had been accuſtomed to ſhare in the ſyſtem of tyranny, joined the hidden aſſociation, and meditated the ruin of the new conſtitution. Peynier continued at the head of this infamous coalition till he was diſplaced by the ſuperior abilities of Chevalier Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au

Prince, who arrived at St. Domingo. He had come by way of Italy, and at Turin had taken leave of the Count d'Artois, to whoſe fortune he was attached. His firſt proceeding evinces that he was a villain of the moſt accompliſhed kind. He declared himſelf the patron and protector of the mulattoes, till his unſuſpected hypocriſy gained them over to his ſide. With their aſſiſtance, he propoſed to eſtabliſh once more the ancient ſyſtem of injuſtice; and thus unfortunately ſucceeded in dividing two claſſes of men, whoſe views, if cemented by good underſtanding, might have effected their mutual happineſs, and averted many calamities. Had the planters been ſteady to each other, the projects of their enemies might perhaps have been blaſted; but the provincial aſſemblies diſputed with each other, and thus gave an opportunity to their common enemy, the executive power, to declare hoſtilities with more effect. The oſtenſible motive on the part of government for beginning their attack upon the repreſentatives of the iſland, was the following celebrated decree, which the Aſſembly had made on the 28th of May 1790. The preamble to the decree declares the right of confirming the laws inherent in the aſſembly, and conſequently incapable of being delegated. The articles ſubjoined are the ten following:—

"1. The legiſlative authority, in every thing which relates to the internal concerns of the colony (*regime interieur*), is veſted in the aſſembly of its repre-

ſentatives, which ſhall be called *the General Aſſembly of the French Part of St. Domingo.*

" 2. No act of the legiſlative body, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, ſhall be conſidered *as a law definitive*, unleſs it be made by the repreſentatives of the French part of St. Domingo, freely and legally choſen, and confirmed by the King.

" 3. In caſes of urgent neceſſity, a legiſlative decree of the general aſſembly, in what relates to the internal concerns of the colony, ſhall be conſidered as a *law proviſional.* In all ſuch caſes, the decree ſhall be notified forthwith to the governor-general, who, within ten days after ſuch notification, ſhall cauſe it to be publiſhed and enforced, or tranſmit to the general aſſembly his obſervations thereon.

" 4. The neceſſity of the caſe on which the execution of ſuch proviſional decree is to depend, ſhall be a ſeparate queſtion, and be carried in the affirmative by a majority of two-thirds of the general aſſembly; the names and numbers being taken down. *(Priſes par 'appel nominal.)*

" 5. If the governor-general ſhall ſend down his obſervations on any ſuch decree, the ſame ſhall be entered in the journals of the general aſſembly, who ſhall then proceed to reviſe the decree, and conſider the obſervations thereon, in three ſeveral ſittings. The votes for confirming or annulling the decree, ſhall be given in the words *Yes* or *No*, and a minute of the proceedings ſhall be ſigned by the members preſent, in which ſhall be enumerated the votes on

each ſide of the queſtion; and if there appears a majority of two-thirds for confirming the decree, it ſhall be immediately enforced by the governor-general.

" 6. As every law ought to be founded on the conſent of thoſe who are to be bound by it, the French part of St. Domingo ſhall be allowed to propoſe regulations concerning commercial arrangements, and the ſyſtem of mutual connection (*rapports commerciaux, et autres rapports communs*), and the decrees which the national aſſembly ſhall make in all ſuch caſes, *ſhall not be enforced in the colony, until the general aſſembly ſhall have conſented thereto.*

" 7. In caſes of preſſing neceſſity, the importation of articles for the ſupport of the inhabitants ſhall not be conſidered as any breach in the ſyſtem of commercial regulations between St. Domingo and France; provided that the decrees to be made in ſuch caſes by the general aſſembly, ſhall be ſubmitted to the reviſion of the governor-general, under the ſame conditions and modifications as are preſcribed in Articles 3. and 5.

" 8. Provided alſo, that every legiſlative act of the general aſſembly, executed proviſionally, in caſes of urgent neceſſity, ſhall be tranſmitted forthwith for the royal ſanction. And if the King ſhall refuſe his conſent to any ſuch act, its execution ſhall be ſuſpended, as ſoon as the King's refuſal ſhall be legally notified to the general aſſembly.

" 9. A new general aſſembly ſhall be choſen every two years, and none of the members who have

ſerved in the former aſſembly, ſhall be eligible in the new one.

" 10. The general aſſembly decree that the preceding articles, as forming part of the conſtitution of the French colony in St. Domingo, ſhall be immediately tranſmitted to France, for the acceptance of the national aſſembly, and the King. They ſhall likewiſe be tranſmitted to all the pariſhes and diſtricts of the colony, and be notified to the governor-general."

Among men, even of oppoſite ſentiments, this decree excited diſſatisfaction. It was held as inconſiſtent with the very exiſtence of colonial ſubordination, that the King's delegate ſhould be debarred from negativing the acts of aſſembly. In extenuation of this inconſiſtency, and the ſtill more daring innovation of conſtituting themſelves the judges of all acts of the national aſſembly of France, in caſes of external regulation, it can only be ſaid, that the circumſtances were new, and the legiſlators inexperienced. That they had it in view to throw off the authority f the mother country, is not to be believed; but the report was ſpread, and credited, that the colony was ſold to the Engliſh, and that forty millions of livres had been taken by the aſſembly of St. Domingo as a bribe. The weſtern pariſhes recalled their delegates, while thoſe of Cape François renounced their obedience to the whole aſſembly, and petitioned the governor to ſtrip them of their authority. Peynier was pleaſed at the diſgrace of

the repreſentatives, both parties were averſe to compromiſement, and a circumſtance occurred to make the breach irreparable.

The Leopard, a ſhip of the line, lay in the harbour of Port au Prince, and the commander being attached to the governor, gave a ſumptuous entertainment to his partizans of the place. The ſeamen, taking offence at this meaſure, mutinied, and declared themſelves in the intereſt of the aſſembly; and the aſſembly, in return, made them a vote of thanks. Some partizans of the aſſembly at this time ſeized a powder magazine at Leogane. Two days after the vote of thanks had been returned to the crew of the Leopard, the governor declared them adherents to the traitors of the country, and called on all officers, civil and military, to bring them to puniſhment. His firſt direct attack was an attempt to arreſt the perſons of the weſtern provincial aſſembly, which had been ſo zealous in their attachment to the general aſſembly. He underſtood that a committee of them held conſultations at midnight at Port au Prince. Monſ. Manduit headed the enterpriſe, and ſelecting 100 of his ſoldiers, reſorted to the place. The houſe was defended by 400 national guards, and a ſkirmiſh enſued, of which the particulars are not perfectly known; but Manduit returned without accompliſhing his purpoſe.

The general aſſembly, on receiving notice of this attack, immediately called upon the people to aſſemble, and defend their repreſentatives. Armed troops accordingly took the field on both ſides of the

diſpute, and bloodſhed ſeemed now inevitable; but a ſudden reſolution of the aſſembly averted the impending war. They reſolved in a body to repair to the mother country, and juſtify, in perſon, to the King and national aſſembly, their paſt conduct. Their numbers were reduced, by ſickneſs and deſertion, to 100, and of theſe 85 embarked on board the Leopard, amidſt the applauſes of people of all parties, who conſidered their conduct as noble and heroic. Of the 85 who embarked, we ought not to omit mentioning that 64 were fathers of families. The conduct of this body of legiſlators was undoubtedly, in ſome inſtances, ſtretched beyond their legal prerogative; but neceſſity is a ſtrong plea, and in a great degree juſtifies their boldeſt meaſures. That the governor and Manduit had ſerious intentions of reſtoring ancient deſpotiſm, cannot be doubted. It afterwards appeared that, diſtruſting the French ſoldiers, they had written to Cuba for Spaniſh ſubſidiaries. But we muſt deviate from this detail for a moment, to commiſerate the fate of brave, but unfortunate characters,

CHAPTER IV.

Rebellion and Defeat of Oge, a Free Man of Colour.

THREE hundred people of colour had been collected by Manduit to oppoſe the forces of the aſſembly; but they ſoon became ſenſible of their error, demanded and procured their diſmiſſion. Indeed, during the whole continuance of the colonial aſſembly, they remained much more peaceable than could have been expected; but thoſe who were reſident in France entertained ſomewhat more violent ſentiments and wiſhes than their brethren in St. Domingo. Among thoſe whoſe enthuſiaſm in the cauſe of delivering the people from oppreſſion was cheriſhed by their connection with the Amis des Noirs, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed was James Oge, a young man under thirty years of age. His mother poſſeſſed a coffee plantation in St. Domingo, and ſupported him in Paris in ſome degree of affluence. Under the patronage of the Amis des Noirs he had been initiated in the doctrines of equality and the rights of man, and had learned to eſtimate the abſurdity and monſtrous injuſtice of that prejudice which (ſaid Gregoire), eſtimating a man's merit by the colour of his ſkin, has placed at an immenſe diſtance from each other the children of the ſame parent; a prejudice which ſtifles the voice of nature, and breaks the bands of fraternity aſunder." Animated by their advice, Oge conceived the plan of

heading his people and procuring redreſs of their wrongs.

In order to evade the notice of government, the ſociety reſolved to procure arms and ammunition in America. Oge accordingly embarked for New England, with money and letters of credit, July 1790; but with all the ſecrecy that was intended, his plan was known at Paris, and his portrait ſent out to St. Domingo long before he arrived. He landed in October, and got the arms he had brought conveyed to the place appointed by his brother. Six weeks after his arrival, he publiſhed a manifeſto, declaring his intention of taking up arms, if the privileges of whites were not granted to all perſons without diſtinction. During this interval, he and his brother had been buſy in calling upon the people of colour to join their ſtandard; but the mulattoes ſeemed unwilling to hazard an open revolt, and only 200 came to his aſſiſtance. He pitched his camp at Grande Riviere, and appointed his brother and one Chavane his lieutenants. Chavane was fierce and intrepid, but by no means ſo generous in his diſpoſitions as Oge, who, with all his enthuſiaſm, was mild and humane. He ſtrictly cautioned his followers againſt the ſhedding of innocent blood; but it is to be regretted, that the ſenſe of their injuries too keenly affected the minds of his followers to permit moderation in their proceedings. They put to death the whites wherever they met them; and by a ſtill more unjuſtifiable mode of conduct, took vengeance upon thoſe of their own colour who refuſed

to join their ſtandard. The townſmen of St. François immediately diſpatched regulars and militia to ſuppreſs the revolters. Their numbers being ſuperior, they overpowered them, and took many priſoners; but Oge and his brother, with his aſſociate, took refuge among the Spaniards in Cuba. The whites, exaſperated at this effort of the mulattoes, vowed vengeance upon the whole race, and a maſſacre was thought to be at hand. The *petit blancs* in particular were keen in their ſentiments of retaliation; ſo that the mulattoes ſeeing danger impending on all ſides, flew to arms in ſelf-defence, and fortified camps in many places. Their largeſt force was aſſembled at the town of Verette. Thither a numerous body of whites convened to reſiſt them. M. Manduit was their commander; and by his means a conſultation took place inſtead of a battle. The particulars of the interview are not perfectly known; but it is aſſerted that Manduit traiterouſly perſuaded the mulattoes to retire for a while, till a better opportunity of effecting their vengeance ſhould occur; that the King was their friend; and that a counter revolution would raiſe them to the privileges of the whites. At Aux Cayes alſo, Monſ. Manduit effected a truce with Rigaud, the mulatto leader; but the latter declared that the calm of peace would not be permanent.

Monſ. Peynier reſigned his government to Monſ. Blanchellaude in November 1790, whoſe firſt meaſure was to make a peremptory demand of Oge from the Spaniards; ſo that the unhappy fugitive and his companions were delivered up and brought

to a trial. Twenty of his followers were condemned to be hanged; but a more dreadful fate was reſerved for himſelf and Chavane. He was ſentenced to be broken alive, and left to periſh on the wheel. Such was his puniſhment; and his crime was aſſerting the rights of his people! Chavane died as became the martyr of ſuch a cauſe; amid the extremity of his torture, he uttered not a groan. Oge, poſſeſſed of more ſenſibility, was overpowered by the horror of his ſentence, and prayed for his life with many tears. He was even ſo far weakened as to forget all his former magnanimity, and offered to diſcloſe ſome ſecrets if his life was ſpared. It cannot be at all aſcertained whether or not he made confeſſions of any importance; but it is ſaid by ſome that he fully diſcloſed the moſt ſerious projects of inſurrection, and named the places where the framers of theſe plans were in the practice of convening. The conduct of the court before whom this confeſſion was ſuppoſed to have been made, in hurrying the unhappy Oge to immediate execution, and their well known attachment to the ancient deſpotic ſyſtem, leaves room to ſuſpect that theſe confeſſions were ſuppreſſed, out of reſentment to the whites of the colonial aſſembly intereſt. Certain it is, that the royaliſts and republicans were equally hoſtile to the planters of this deſcription; and unleſs we ſuppoſe the confeſſions of Oge not to have been founded in truth, the conduct of the ariſtocratic governors who ſuppreſſed his declarations, is to be regarded as a plan of Machiavelian policy much to be condemned.

CHAPTER V.

Proceedings in France—Death of Colonel Mauduit—Decree of the National Aſſembly of the 15th May 1791—Its Conſequences in St. Domingo—Rebellion and Enormities of the Negroes in the Northern Provinces—Truce between the Men of Colour and Inhabitants of Port au Prince—Proclamation by the National Aſſembly of the 20th of September.

We have already recorded the embarkation of the patriotic aſſembly of St. Domingo for France, and the motives which impelled them to that deciſive reſolution. At Breſt they were received with marks of approbation that ſeemed to prognoſticate ſucceſs to their deſign; but whether from the inſidious practices of the ariſtocrats in their own iſland, who deteſted their ſyſtem of repreſentation, and ſecretly undermined their character, or from the boldneſs of their late conduct being deemed illegal by the national aſſembly, they were received by the repreſentatives of the French with marked ſymptoms of averſion. Their reſolutions were pronounced improper, they were perſonally arreſted, and orders given for a new aſſembly to be collected. The King's order was alſo requeſted, to augment the military and naval force already in St. Domingo. Among the friends of the royal party, the diſgrace of the colonial members was a matter of much exultation, but the iſlanders were in general diſpleaſed. Their indignation was moſt particularly levelled at Mauduit, colonel of the regiment of Port au Prince,

whom they regarded as the infidious calumniator of their conſtituents. The regiment of this unprincipled man had hitherto been his firm adherents, from the bribes which he had diſtributed among them; whilſt the national guards, and the other regiments from France, held them in abhorrence, and refuſed to do duty in their company. Finding themſelves ſo uncomfortable, under the contempt and averſion of all around them, they began to conſider their commander as the cauſe of their diſgrace, and their gratitude for his paſt favours was cooled by this reflection. It was formerly related, that Mauduit, at the head of 100 grenadiers, had made an attack upon the rendezvous of a committee of the St. Domingo repreſentatives. On this occaſion he had carried off a ſtand of colours belonging to the national troops, and the offence was not yet erazed from their memories. Mauduit, to appeaſe the ſtorm, offered publicly to reſtore the trophy, and, in preſence of a vaſt multitude, actually reſigned the colours: at the moment he gave them up, one of his own regiment called aloud, that he ſhould aſk pardon on his knees for ſuch a treſpaſs. He bared his boſom on hearing the demand, and it was pierced with a hundred wounds, all from his own grenadiers. No better reward could be expected from the perfidy of bribed adherents. His ſoldiers added cruelty to their baſeneſs, and diſgraced humanity by the inſults they practiſed on his dead body.

In the mean time, the friends of the mulattoes in

Europe, and the people of colour reſident in the mother country, were more eager in the cauſe of emancipation, than even the mulattoes in St. Domingo. The intereſt of the people of colour was ſo ſtrongly ſupported in the national aſſembly, that they paſſed a decree, ordaining, among a number of other articles, that every perſon of the age of 25 years and upwards, poſſeſſing property, or having reſided two years in the colony, and paid taxes, ſhould be permitted to vote in the formation of the colonial aſſembly. The people of colour knew not in what acceptation to underſtand this decree; for they had never, on any former occaſion, exerciſed the right of voting on occaſions of this kind; and yet, as they were not excluded by name, the decree ſeemed virtually to comprehend them. In France the queſtion ſtill remained to be decided. Whilſt Abbé Gregoire, with all that eloquence for which he was diſtinguiſhed, ſupported the cauſe of the mulattoes, the public mind was rouſed into indignation againſt the coloniſts, by theatrical repreſentations of the late barbarity they had ſhown to the unfortunate Ogé. Their cauſe at laſt prevailed. The mulattoes born of free parents were not only pronounced worthy of chooſing their repreſentatives, but alſo eligible themſelves to ſeats in the colonial aſſemblies. The conſequence of this deciſive decree will be immediately ſeen.

On the 30th of June 1791, the news of it was firſt received in St. Domingo, at Cape François; but no words can adequately deſcribe the idignation

which filled the minds of all parties in the iſland. They reſolved to reject the civic oath, and to confiſcate the French property in the harbour*. It was even propoſed in the provincial aſſembly, to pull down the national colours, and hoiſt the Britiſh ſtandard in their ſtead. The governor-general was conſtrained to be a ſilent ſpectator of theſe enormities, having no proſpect of ever recovering his authority. The election of a general aſſembly was the next public event of importance. They met at Cape François, and hopes were entertained that their meaſures might effect a reconciliation of parties; but the mulattoes had perceived too evident ſymptoms of their danger, and were too juſtly alarmed by the proſcription that ſeemed to threaten them to continue any longer inactive. They collected in armed bodies, and waited with anxious expectation to ſee what meaſures the colonial aſſembly would adopt in their favour.

At this period an event, more dreadful than all the forme diſturbances, took place. The blacks thought the preſent occaſion for recovering their freedom too important to be paſſed over. They accordingly proceeded to the aſſertion of that freedom, but with all the ſanguinary ſpirit of revenge which characterizes the debaſed actions of a ſlave, and which the moſt ardent advocate for liberty muſt condemn and deplore †.

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* An embargo actually took place.

† The account of this rebellion, as detailed by Mr. Edwards,

On the morning of the 23d of Auguſt 1791, the town of the Cape was alarmed by a report of the negroes in the adjacent pariſhes having revolted. The firſt tidings were confuſed, but at day-break the arrival of thoſe who had narrowly eſcaped the maſſacre too well confirmed the tidings. The rebellion had broke out in the pariſh of Acul, nine miles from the city, where the whites had been butchered without diſtinction; and now the revolters proceeded from pariſh to pariſh, murdering the men, and raviſhing the unfortunate women who fell into their hands. In a ſhort time the ſword was exchanged for the torch, and the cane-field blazed in every direction. The citizens now flew to arms, and the command of the national troops was given to the governor, whilſt the women and children were put aboard the ſhips in the harbour for ſafety. During this period the lower claſs of whites, regarding the mulattoes in Cape François, as the immediate cauſe of the rebellion, marked them out for deſtruction; but the aſſembly generouſly took them under their protection. In gratitude for ſuch kindneſs, the mulattoes offered to march as militiamen againſt the rebels, and their offer was accepted. After the aſſembly had ſpent a night in deliberation, amidſt the glare of the ſurrounding fires, the militia and troops of the line were ſent to meet a body of the rebels, and repulſed

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is long and minute. The particulars are not here given ſo fully; not from a wiſh to conceal them, but becauſe they are too horrid for relation.

them; but the numbers of the inſurgents increaſing in a conſiderable proportion, the governor ſaw the propriety of acting ſolely on the defenſive. The entrances to the town were therefore fortified, artillery were ſtationed on the heights, and at the river which interſects the main road; the town was palliſaded on all ſides but next the ſea, and the ſhips in the harbour ſecured, againſt the laſt extremity. At the ſame time the whites in the ſurrounding plantations formed into camps, and maintained a chain of poſts; but at two different places they were overpowered, and killed in great numbers *.

In the ſpace of two months it was computed that

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* Amidſt the diſgraceful ſcenes which at this time took place, from the undiſtinguiſhing barbarity of the negroes, there was one ſtriking example of fidelity, which deſerves to be related. Monſieur and Madame Baillon, their daughter and ſon-in-law, were appriſed of the revolt by one of their own ſlaves, who was himſelf in the conſpiracy. He conducted them to an adjacent wood, after which he went and joined the revolters. Several times he viſited them by ſtealth with proviſions, and at laſt directed them to make their way to a river which led to Port Margot, aſſuring them they would find a canoe on a part of the river which he deſcribed. They followed his directions, but were overturned by the rapidity of the ſtream, and, after a narrow eſcape, retreated again to the mountains. The good negro again found them out, directed them to a broader part of the river, where they would find another boat. They went, and, miſſing the boat, gave themſelves up for loſt,—when their guardian angel again appears, and conducting them by ſlow marches in the night, along the banks of the river, took them to the wharf at Port Margot; when, telling them they were entirely out of danger, he took his laſt leave, and went to join the rebels.

upwards of 2000 white perſons periſhed; of the inſurgents, not leſs than 10,000 died by famine and the ſword, hundreds by the hand of the executioner, and many, dreadful to relate, upon the wheel, a mode of revenge not to be juſtified by any enormity. "Two of theſe unhappy men (ſays Mr. Edwards) ſuffered in this manner under the window of the author's lodgings, and in his preſence, at Cape François, on Thurſday the 28th of September 1791. They were broken on two pieces of timber placed croſswiſe. One of them expired on receiving the third ſtroke on his ſtomach, each of his legs and arms having been firſt broken in two places; the firſt three blows he bore without a groan. The other had a harder fate. When the executioner, after breaking his legs and arms, lifted up the inſtrument to give the finiſhing ſtroke on the breaſt, and which (by putting the criminal out of pain) is called *le coup de grace*, the mob, with the ferociouſneſs of cannibals, called out *arretez* (ſtop)! and compelled him to leave his work unfiniſhed. In that condition, the miſerable wretch, with his broken limbs doubled up, was put on a cart-wheel, which was placed horizontally one end of the axle-tree being driven into the earth. He ſeemed perfectly ſenſible, but uttered not a groan. At the end of forty minutes, ſome Engliſh ſeamen, who were ſpectators of the tragedy, ſtrangled him in mercy."

In the weſtern diviſion the inſurgents were principally people of colour, who appeared in arms to the number of 2000, in the pariſh of Mirebalais. They

proceeded even to Port au Prince; but happily at this period a reconciliation was brought about by the good offices of a Monſieur de Jumecourt, who procured a *concordat*, or truce, between the inhabitants of Port au Prince and the mulattoes; of which the terms were, that hoſtilities ſhould ceaſe, and the decree of the 15th be adopted. The aſſembly of Cape François paſſed many reſolutions in favour of the people of colour, and teſtified a zeal for their intereſt; which kindneſs, if ſhown at one period, would have prevented many a dreadful tranſaction, but the cure was now adminiſtered too late.

CHAPTER VI.

Repeal of the Decree of the 15th of May—Civil War renewed—Port au Prince deſtroyed by Fire—Cruelties on each Side—Arrival of the Commiſſioners from France—Appointment and Proceedings of the New Commiſſioners—Appointment of Golbaud—Hoſtilities on both Sides—The revolted Negroes called in—Maſſacre of the Inhabitants of Cape François, and Conflagration of the Town.

About the beginning of September, the news of the reception given to the decree of the 15th of May, were received at Paris, and the loſs of the colony was univerſally apprehended. By this time moſt of thoſe members whoſe opinions upon colonial matters had before been regarded as ſagacious, were treated with diſreſpect. At length (ſtrange to tell)! on the 24th of September 1791, a repeal of the celebrated decree was actually made. To ſuch abſurdity muſt every government be driven, that attempts to rule the actions of a colony at the diſtance of 3000 miles.

Previous to this time, the mulattoes, ſtill ſuſpicious, leſt their rights which had been recognized, ſhould not be actually obtained, had procured a ſecond inſtrument, and a ſupplementary agreement of the 20th of October; but when authentic information of this ſecond enactment of the national aſſembly was received, all proſpect of reconciliation periſhed for ever; for the mulattoes could not conceive the planters as guilty of the tranſaction. They

accordingly flew to arms, and being in many places joined by the negroes, terrible engagements took place. In the diſtrict of Cul de Sac, 2000 blacks were left dead on the field. The whites were victorious, and getting the mulattoes into their poſſeſſion, ſatiated their revenge with the moſt unheard-of cruelties. The ſpecimens of enormity committed on each ſide of this unnatural diſpute, are too hideous for deſcription; but it is but juſtice to ſay, that the whites ſet the example. It was fondly expected that the horror of theſe mutual enormities would be aſſuaged by the arrival of the three civil commiſſioners from France, who landed in St. Domingo juſt at the cloſe of the year 1791. Unhappily, however, their ſucceſs did not verify the public expectation.

Roome, Mirbeck, and St. Leger, were the names of the commiſſioners. The two laſt were men of no very reſpectable characters. Roome alone conducted himſelf without offence, but none of them poſſeſſed abilities for the arduous taſk of extinguiſhing a civil war. After a ſhort ſtay at Cape François, they viſited the other parts of the colony; but finding their authority dwindle away, they returned to France the following ſpring.

In the mean time, the Amis de Noirs in the mother country had once more gained that aſcendency which the revocation of the celebrated decree of the 15th May 1791 evinced them to have loſt. The firſt ſignal evidence of the change that had taken place in the minds of the legiſlature, was the famous

decree of the 4th of April 1792, which it is neceſſary the reader ſhould have at large, to underſtand the effects that aroſe in conſequence. New commiſſioners (Meſſrs. Santhonax, Polverel, and Ailhaud) were now appointed to fulfil this decree, 6000 choſen men from the national guards were embarked for St. Domingo, and a new governor (Monſ. Deſpardes) nominated as commander in chief. The former governor was ſent home to France on their firſt arrival *. It was ſtrongly ſuſpected that the intention of the commiſſioners was to procure an unqualified freedom for all the blacks in the iſland; but they declared, by a ſolemn oath, that their ſole purpoſe was to eſtabliſh the rights of the mulattoes, as decreed by the law of the 15th of May. The firſt petition of the whites was therefore to convoke a colonial aſſembly; but inſtead of their wiſhed-for houſe of repreſentatives, the commiſſioners ſubſtituted what was called *Une Commiſſion Intermediare*, by nominating 12 perſons, of whom ſix had been of the laſt aſſembly, and the other ſix were mulattoes. Their legiſlative authority extended to the raiſing of contributions upon the inhabitants, but the commiſſioners reſerved the power of appropriating it to themſelves. The new governor, finding that the commiſſioners uſurped all authority, complained, that he was but a cypher in public affairs. His complaint was anſwered by an arreſt upon his perſon, and he was ſent home ſtate priſoner to France.

* He was afterwards guillotined.

The tyranny of the commiſſioners did not ſtop here, they overawed the members of the commiſſion *Intermediaire*, by arreſting four of their number, and laſtly diſagreeing among themſelves, expelled Ailhaud from their triumvirate. War was by this time declared between the mother country and Britain, and prudence compelled the government of France to take ſome care of the injured colony, which lay trampled under the avaricious controul of Santhonax and Polverel, and Galbaud, a man of fair character, was ordered to fill the place of governor, and to put the iſland in a ſtate of defence againſt external invaſion. On the 10th of June 1793, the three commiſſioners had their firſt interview with the new governor. The former aſked him if he had acquainted the executive council of his being a poſſeſſor of Weſt Indian property? a queſtion which utterly diſconcerted him; for he never recollected, till that moment, that this circumſtance, by law, excluded him from the place he affected to hold. Skirmiſhes ſoon after took place, with various ſucceſs, between the aſſociates of Galbaud and thoſe of the commiſſioners. In one of theſe, Polverel's ſon was made priſoner. When propoſals were made to him for exchanging the young man with the brother of Galbaud, who was made, on the other hand, priſoner by the commiſſioners troops, he ſternly replied, That his ſon knew his duty, and was prepared to die in the cauſe of the republic.

But the moſt dreadful enormity that St. Domingo witneſſed, remains to be mentioned. On the ap-

proach of Galbaud, with a body of his adherents, the commiſſioners offered to purchaſe the aid of the rebel negroes, by the offer of a pardon, freedom in future, and the plunder of the capital. Two of the rebel chiefs refuſed the baſe terms; but a third (after Galbaud had fled to the ſhips), with 3000 revolted negroes, entered the town, and began an indiſcriminate maſſacre. The miſerable inhabitants fled to the ſhores, but their retreat was ſtopped by a party of mulattoes, and for two days the ſlaughter was inceſſant. The town was half conſumed by flames, a capital once flouriſhing and beautiful. The commiſſioners, terrified at the deſtruction of their own hands, fled for protection to a ſhip of the line, and from thence publiſhed a manifeſto, which, while it tried to extenuate, evinced a conſciouſneſs of their guilt.

CHAPTER VII.

Situation, Extent, and General Deſcription of St. Domingo—Original of the French Colony—Deſcription of its Produce and Population—Shipping and Exports.

ST. DOMINGO lies about 3500 miles from the Land's End of England, the eaſtern point being in north latitude 18° 20′, and in longitude 68° 40′ weſt from Greenwich. The breadth of the iſland is about 140 miles at its utmoſt latitude, and its length from eaſt to weſt 390. The ſoil is diverſified, but in general rich. Indeed, ſuch was its flouriſhing ſituation, that until the late undiſtinguiſhing ravages of civil war, it might be juſtly called the paradiſe of the new hemiſphere.

The beautiful ſavannahs in the interior of the country were depopulated by the mercileſs Spaniards, and their habitations converted into a deſert. But the crimes of theſe men were amply puniſhed by that aſſociation of daring adventurers called the Buccaneer's. This aſſociation, it is well known, aroſe from a body of French and Engliſh planters, whom the cruelty of the Spaniards drove from St. Chriſtopher's. In open boats they had eſcaped to the ſmall and unoccupied iſland of Tortuga, within a few miles of the northen coaſt of St. Domingo, and were here joined by a number of Dutch refugees, who fled hither from Santa Cruz before the perſecution of the Spaniards. The three tribes of

ſufferers continued to live here in tranquillity, uſing the large and deſerted plains of St. Domingo as their hunting grounds; but reſerving Tortuga as their home. Simple and harmleſs as their lives were, they did not eſcape the notice of the Spaniſh government; for, upon no other pretext than their living upon a hemiſphere which the Spaniards claimed excluſively to themſelves, they were aſſailed with all the vengeance of perſecution. Thus driven to deſpair, they retaliated hoſtilities with all their efforts; and as they were inured to hardſhip by their manner of life, performed acts of valour, which, conſidering all circumſtances, never were nor have ſince been equalled. From a party of theſe adventurers, the French colony of St. Domingo firſt received its name. Of the progreſſive improvement of this colony, from their firſt footing in the iſland, till they were received within the protection of France, a very ſatisfactory account may be had in the hiſtory of the iſland by Pere Charlevoix.

The poſſeſſions of the French in St. Domingo are divided into three provinces, the Northern, the Weſtern, and the Southern. The moſt remarkable of their towns and harbours are Cape François, and Cape St. Nicholas. The former contained between eight and nine hundred houſes of ſtone, a church, a priſon, a playhouſe, a ſuperb barrack, an arſenal, and a good hoſpital. To the eaſt of it lies a plain of 50 miles in length, and 12 in breadth, once cultivated ſolely for ſugar, the plantations of which yield-

ed greater returns than any other ground of the ſame extent in the habitable globe.

The town of St. Nicholas conſiſts of about 250 houſes, moſtly built of American wood. It is chiefly known, for the ſafety and extent of its harbour, and is juſtly called the key to the Windward Paſſage.

Port au Prince (except in time of war) was conſidered as the capital of the colony. To the eaſt of it lies the noble and beautiful plain, the Cul de Sac, extending from 30 to 40 miles in length, by 9 in breadth, containing an hundred and fifty well watered and valuable plantations.

The population, in 1790, appears to have been 30,831 whites of both ſexes, excluſive of European troops and ſea-faring people. The number of negro ſlaves amounted at that period to 480,000 of all deſcriptions.

The number of the free people of colour was not accurately aſcertained; but the general opinion fixed them at 24,000.

The quantity of land in a ſtate of cultivation throughout all the pariſhes, was equal to 229,480 acres of Engliſh meaſure, of which about two thirds were ſituated in the mountains.

In the beginning of 1790, the colony contained

431	plantations	of clayed ſugar
362	- -	of muſcovado.
793	plantations	of ſugar,

Carried over, 793

Brought forward,	793	ſugar plantations.
	3,117	of coffee,
	789	of cotton,
	3,160	of indigo,
	54	of cacao, or chocolate,
	623	ſmaller ſettlements, chiefly for raiſing grain, yams, and other vegetable food.
Making	8,536	eſtabliſhments all kinds throughout the colony.

In the year 1787 there were freighted 470 ſhips, containing 112,253 tons, and navigated by 11,220 ſeamen. The following is an accurate account from the intendant's reports of the general exports on an average of three years:

			Livres.
Clayed ſugar	lbs.	58,642,214 —	41,049,549
Muſcovado	lbs.	86,549,829 —	34,619,931
Coffee -	lbs.	71,663,187 —	71,663,187
Cotton -	lbs.	6,698,858 —	12,397,716
Indigo -	Hhds.	951,607 —	8,564,463
Molaſſes -	Hhds.	23,061 —	2,767,320
An inferior ſort of rum, called taffia	Hhds.	2,600 —	312,000
Raw hides -		No. 6,500 —	52,000
Tanned ditto		No. 7,900 —	118,500
The total value at the ports of ſhipping, in livres of St. Domingo, was			171,544,666

being equal to 4,765,129l. Sterling money of Great Britain.

CHAPTER VIII.

Overtures to the Britiſh Government—Slavery aboliſhed by the French Commiſſioners—Surrender of Jeremie and the Mole at St. Nicholas—Defeat at Tiburon—Capture of Port au Prince—Sickneſs and dreadful Mortality among the Troops—Revolt of the Mulattoes at St. Marc—Second Attack of Tiburon—Gallant Eſcape of the Garriſon.

After the maſſacre at Cape François, numbers of the unfortunate natives emigrated to America; and, to the honour of that country, were hoſpitably received. But ſome time previous to this period, individuals in a higher ſtation of life had reſorted to Britain, and, in the heat of their indignation at the injuries they had ſuſtained, called upon the Britiſh government to take the iſland into their poſſeſſion. Theſe entreaties were at firſt diſregarded, but when the war broke out between the two nations, the plan was taken into ſerious conſideration.

The republican commiſſioners had brought out from France ſix thouſand choſen troops. To this force was added the greateſt part of the mulattoes and free negroes, compoſing in all a deſperate band of about 25,000 men. But as their force was greatly diminiſhed by being neceſſarily ſcattered over the provinces, the commiſſioners, in order to ſtrengthen their party, declared all ſlavery at an end, on condition of the blacks reſorting to their ſtandard. Numbers joined them in conſequence of this decla-

ration; but many remained with their reſpective maſters, and about 16,000 retreated to the mountains, where they kept in a neutral ſtate. There ſtill remained, however, about 40,000 of thoſe negroes who had formerly revolted, who were inured to murder and devaſtation, and the ſworn foes of both invaders and inhabitants.

General Williamſon was the man to whom the Britiſh government entruſted he diſtribution and management of this important invaſion. Inſpired with a fatal confidence in the promiſes of ſupport which he received, he ſeems to have miſcalculated the force neceſſary for ſuch a buſineſs; for the whole armament deſtined to ſubdue an extent of country equal to that of Britain itſelf, was the 13th regiment of foot, ſeven companies of the 49th, and a detachment of artillery, amounting altogether to about 870 rank and file fit for duty.

On the 9th of September, Colonel Whitelocke ſailed with the firſt diviſion, and took poſſeſſion of Jeremie, with conſent of the inhabitants. Shortly after, the garriſon of the Mole of St. Nicholas declared an inclination to ſurrender, and poſſeſſion was accordingly taken of the harbour and fort; but the future progreſs of the Britiſh arms did not equal the expectations excited by theſe ſurrenders. An attack upon Tiburon, which terminated in diſaſter and diſappointment on our ſide, was but a prelude to the mortifications that enſued. The inceſſant rains and ſeverity of duty overpowered and debilitated the ſoldiers, while the horrors of the yellow

fever conſummated their miſery. A ſmall reinforcement from Britain, for a moment, alleviated their danger, and a ſecond aſſault upon Tiburon was propoſed. By the ſingular gallantry of Major Spencer, and his reſolute followers, the place was carried by ſtorm. Surpriſing to relate, only three Engliſh ſoldiers were killed, and ſeven wounded, in forcing a poſt of ſuch importance. The next attempt was on the town of Port Paix, where Lavaux, the commander of the French troops, was offered a bribe if he would betray his truſt. But the brave veteran anſwered this odious propoſal, by challenging to ſingle combat the Britiſh commander, who had ſo groſsly inſulted him. Colonel Whitelocke, who had conducted this abortive attempt, ſucceeded better in his next object, which was the reduction of Le Aeul, in the vicinity of Leogane. His orders for aſſaulting the fort were gallantly and rapidly executed by his troops; but a number of valuable officers were wounded and killed in the engagement. A defeat from ſuperior numbers at a place called Bompard, fifteen miles from St. Nicholas, and a ſally from the newly obtained fort of Tiburon, which, though ſucceſsful in repelling the enemy, was effected with much blood, ſerved to check the fortune of our army.

On the 19th of May 1794, a ſecond reinforcement of three Britiſh regiments arrived in St. Domingo; ſo that new hopes aroſe, and new attacks were meditated. Port au Prince was all along the grand object of our army; but it was neceſſary to reduce Fort Bizotton before the capital could poſſibly fall.

Two line of battle ſhips were therefore ordered to play upon the ſea front of the fortreſs; and in the evening 300 Britiſh and 500 hundred colonial troops were ſet aſhore to carry it by aſſault. On their march upwards, a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning came on, accompanied with rain, which, as it overpowered the ſound of their approach, Captain Daniel of the 41ſt regiment took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and advanced with his men, 60 in number, who, ruſhing with fixed bayonets through a breach in the wall, actually carried a fort defended by nine times their number. Port au Prince, it is well known, was ſubjected in conſequence of this ſucceſs, in the harbour of which were captured a fleet of ſhipping, at a moderate computation, worth 400,000 l. Sterling.

But even this temporary ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms ſerved to increaſe the ſum of diſaſter which our countrymen were doomed to endure. Port au Prince was, from its ſituation, a poſt difficult to be retained, immenſe preparations were neceſſary to ſecure it from being recaptured, and the labour of the ſoldiers, in digging trenches and raiſing fortifications, became of courſe intolerable. Theſe miſerable labourers, worn out with working and watching, either dropped into the grave, or continued in a ſtate of illneſs that hardly permitted them to bear the weight of their arms. New ſupplies arrived from home; but the frigate which conveyed them had been already a houſe of peſtilence; numbers had been buried in the deep, and the ſurvivors coming like

ſkeletons from their hoſpital, only ſerved to perfect the ſcene of diſtreſs. In the ſpace of two months from the capture of Port au Prince, 600 men and 40 officers periſhed from our little army, by no other enemy than ſickneſs.

General Hornbeck now ſucceeded General Whyte, whoſe ill health had obliged him to return home. The weakneſs of the Britiſh was at this period ſo apparent as even to invite invaſion. Rigaud, a commander of the republican troops, with 2000 men aſſaulted Fort Bizotton; but was routed and repulſed with great ſlaughter; for diſtreſs, it would appear, in its ſevereſt ſhape, had not yet been able to ſubdue the ſpirit of our unfortunate countrymen. Though repulſed ſo effectually, however, in this inſtance, Rigaud meditated the attack of Tiburon with aggravated ſtrength. On the 23d of December 1794, his naval force, conſiſting of a 16 gun brig, and three ſchooners of 14 guns each, ſailed from Aux Cayes to the ſiege of Tiburon, with land troops conſiſting of 3000 men of all colours and deſcriptions. On Chriſtmas day our garriſon of 400 men met the firſt onſet, and for four days reſiſted the moſt furious aſſaults of the beſiegers; but finding their numbers ſo terribly diminiſhed (for 300 had already periſhed), the ſurvivors, headed by Lieutenant Bradford of the 23d regiment, ſallied out on the enemy, and, with unexampled bravery, fought their way for five miles, and got ſafe to Irois. A Lieutenant Baſkerville was on this occaſion (by ſome unlucky accident) unable to join his companions. Aware of the fate that

awaited him, and reſolved to avoid a ſhameful death from the hand of a ſavage enemy, he put a period to his exiſtence as Rigaud entered the fort.

With this diſaſtrous occurrence terminated the year 1794. It remains for future events to decide under whoſe power this colony ſhall be ultimately fixed; but no one can peruſe the records of its protracted and bloody diſputes without lamenting the mournful and untimely deaths which it has witneſſed.

CHAPTER IX.

Ancient State of the Spaniſh Colony—The Eſtabliſhment of the Town of St. Domingo—Pillaged by Drake in 1586—Numbers and Character of the preſent Inhabitants.

THE Spaniſh colony in Hiſpaniola was the earlieſt ever eſtabliſhed in the new world; but in leſs than a century, the diſcovery of gold and ſilver in Mexico led the Spaniards to abandon the exhauſted mines they had dug here, and repair to the continent for new ſupplies. Of the French ſettlement we have already deſcribed the origin.

The Spaniſh territories are, upon the whole, leſs fertile than the other parts of the iſland; in particular, the whole tract from Iſabella to Old Cape François (Puerto de Plata alone excepted) is entirely a deſert for 15 miles. Nor, after paſſing the Bay of Samana, does a much better proſpect offer, until coaſting round the eaſtern extremity, we reach a vaſt extent of level country called the Plains, at the weſt end of which, on the banks of the river Ozama, ſtands the metropolis, which was founded by Columbus, 1498, and named St. Domingo, in honour of St. Dominic, for many years the capital of the new world. Oviedo, a Spaniſh hiſtorian, who reſided in it 30 years after its firſt eſtabliſhment, gives the following account of it, the tranſlation of which is ſtill preſerved.

"But nowe (ſays the Hiſtorian) to ſpeake ſumwhat of the principall and chiefe place of the iſlande, which is the citie of *San Domenico:* I ſaye, that as touchynge the buildyngs, there is no citie in Spaine, ſo muche for ſo-muche (no not *Barſalona*, whiche I have oftentymes ſeene) that is to bee preferred before this generallye. For the houſes of San Domenico are for the moſte parte of ſtone, as are they of Barſalona. The ſituation is muche better than that of *Barſalona*, by reaſon that the ſtreates are much larger and playner, and without comparyſon more directe and ſtrayght furth. For beinge bulyded nowe in our tyme, beſyde the commoditie of the place of the foundation, the ſtreates were alſo directed with corde compaſe and meaſure; werein it excelleth al the cities that I have ſene. It hath the ſea ſo nere, that of one ſyde there is no more ſpace betwen the ſea and the citie, then the waules, On the other parte, hard by the ſyde and at the foote of the houſes, paſſeth the ryver *Ozama*, whiche is a marvelous porte; wherein laden ſhypes ryſe very nere to the lande, and in manner under the houſe wyndowes. In the myddeſt of the citie is the fortreſſe and caſtle; the port or haven alſo, is ſo fayre and commodious to defraight or unlade ſhyppes, as the lyke is founde but in few places of the worlde. The chymineis that are in this citie are about ſyxe hundreth in number, and ſuch houſes as I have ſpoken of before; of the which ſum are ſo fayre and large that they maye well receave and lodge any lorde or noble manne of

Spayne, with his trayne and familie; and eſpecially that which Don Diego Colon, viceroy under your majeſtie, hath in this citie, is ſuche that I knowe no man in Spayne that hath the lyke, by a quarter, in goodneſſe, conſyderynge all the commodities of the ſame. Lykewyſe the ſituation thereof as beinge above the ſayde porte, and altogyther of ſtone, and havynge many faire and large roomes, with as goodly a proſpect of the lande and ſea as may be devyſed, ſeemeth unto me ſo magnifical and princelyke, that your mageſtie may bee as well lodged therein as in any of the moſte exquiſite builded houſes of Spayne. There is alſo a cathedrall churche buylded of late, where, as well the byſhop accordyng to his dygnitie, as alſo the canones, are wel indued. This churche is well buylded of ſtone and lyme, and of good woorkemanſhyppe. There are further-more three monaſteries bearyng the names of Saynt Dominike, Saynt Frances, and Saynt Mary of Mercedes; the whiche are well buylded, although not ſo curiouſlye as they of Spayne. There is alſo a very good hoſpitall for the ayde and ſuccour of pore people, whiche was founded by Michaell Paſſamont, threaſurer to your majeſtie. To conclude, this citie fro day to day increaſeth in welth and good order, as well for that the ſayde admyrall and viceroy, with the lorde chaunceloure and counſayle appoynted there by your majeſtie, have theyr continuall abydnge here, as alſo that the rycheſt men of the ilande reſort hyther, for theyr moſte commodious habitation and

trade of ſuch merchaundies as are eyther brought owt of Spayne, or ſent thyther from this iland, which nowe ſo abundeth in many thynges, that it ſerveth Spayne with many commodities, as it were with uſury requityng ſuch benefites as it fyrſt receaved from thence."

Sixty years afterwards it was attacked by Drake, who, after poſſeſſing it a month, thought himſelf juſtified to ſet it on fire. Of this barbarous tranſaction the following record is preſerved in Hakluyt's Collection: "We ſpent the early part of the mornings (ſays the hiſtorian of the voyage) in fireing the outmoſt houſes; but they being built very magnificently of ſtone, with high loftes, gave us no ſmall travell to ruin them. And albeit, for divers dayes together, we ordeined ech morning by daybreak, until the heat began at nine of the clocke, that two hundred mariners did nought els but labour to fire and burn the ſaid houſes, whilſt the ſouldiers, in a like proportion, ſtood forth for their guard; yet did we not, or could not, in this time, conſume ſo much as one third part of the towne; and ſo in the end, wearied with firing, we were contented to accept of five and twenty thouſand ducats, of five ſhillings and ſixpence the peece, for the ranſome of the reſt of the towne."

It is difficult to obtain exact information reſpecting the preſent condition of this once flouriſhing city. It is certainly on the decline, but not, as Raynal aſſerts, abſolutely in ruins. As little ſeems to be known about the ſtate of agriculture

in theſe poſſeſſions, as about the preſent condition of the Spaniſh capital. Their exports of ſugar and tobacco are undoubtedly very inconſiderable; for the chief article of exportation appears to be the hides of horned cattle. It ſeems probable, indeed, that the greater part of the Spaniſh property in this iſland, once the paradiſe of a happy people, is now abandoned to the beaſts of the field, and the vultures that hover round them.

The accounts of their population are alſo ſcanty and unſatisfactory. By the earlieſt hiſtorians we learn, that there were at one period 14,000 Caſtilians in Hiſpaniola. Its mines were at that time a very productive property, yielding an annual revenue of more than 100,000l. Sterling; but when theſe were exhauſted, the colony dwindled into penury, ſloth, and depopulation.

The origin of the introduction of ſlaves has been traced in another place; but this does not ſeem to have augmented their population. In 1717, the number of all inhabitants, ſlaves and freemen, was only 18,410, and ſince that time their numbers have certainly decreaſed. Of pure whites the number perhaps is 3000.

The character of theſe Spaniſh coloniſts, if we may judge from their conduct during the preſent war, is not of the moſt unexceptionable kind. Their behaviour to the French loyaliſts was marked with the meaneſt national animoſity, and to the Engliſh they were jealous and treacherous friends. On the whole, there is reaſon to ſuppoſe, that a great part

of them are a baſe and degenerate race; a motley mixture from European, Indian, and African anceſtry. They are neither poliſhed by intercourſe with mankind, nor improved by cultivation, but live in a gloomy languor, enfeebled by ſloth, and depreſſed by poverty.

Of thoſe negroes in St. Domingo whom the interpoſition of France has let looſe from the fetters of ſlavery, it is difficult to ſee what will be the future ſituation. If, from having witneſſed the benefits of civilized life, they ſhould diſmiſs the ferocious purſuits of ſavages, they may yet attain to an eminent rank in the knowledge of truth and the practice of virtue. But experience has ſhown us, that emancipation, though requiſite to make men dignified and good, will not operate without other means to ſublimate human nature. The Maroon negroes of Jamaica, and the Charaibes of St. Vincent, are not the ſlaves of white men, but they are ſtill ſavages in the midſt of poliſhed ſociety; and what theſe now are, it is, alas! to be feared, that the negroes of St. Domingo will hereafter be.

FINIS.

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